

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting
Jan van Scorel and
Pieter Coeck van Aelst

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. xi in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Jan van Scorel and
Pieter Coeck van Aelst



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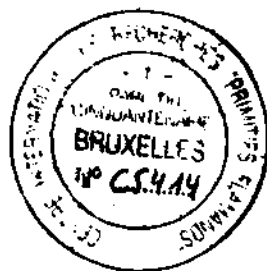
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Max J. Friedländer
Jan van Scorel and
Pieter Coeck van Aelst



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Introduction

Before I continue, I shall give way to a desire to cast a glance both ahead and over my shoulder, to take stock, to reconsider the principles on which I have been proceeding and to make up, if possible, for any omissions.

When it came to the 15th century, an attempt could be made to cover the entire visible store of monuments. In the face of the 16th century more and more screening became necessary.

We must seek to overcome our discouragement with the growing confusion of data and sort out what is essential. The question is, what is essential? One person may find one thing essential, another something else.

On one side stand the works, on the other the names of painters, compiled from the literature and the archives. Zealous effort has sought to strike bridges from one shore to the other, sometimes successfully.

We cannot expect a complete coincidence of the visible picture material with history and tradition, if only because, aside from other reasons, the material is full of gaps and history itself is short of perfection.

Around 1560 Guicciardini collected the names that then constituted the glory of Netherlandish painting, putting them in chronological order, to the best of his knowledge. When we scan his list, noting which masters he singled out for praise, we become aware that the view we have formed shows many gaps.

Let me mention some names, known to us from Guicciardini's list and van Mander's *Lives*, that mean nothing to us. I shall limit myself to masters who were presumably active between 1500 and 1540.

Mattias Cock d'Anversa—This short-lived brother of the well-known publisher Jerome Cock was no longer among the living in 1548. It was probably at least 1535 when he began his work, which exerted a significant influence on the development of landscape painting.

Lamberto della Medesima Terra (possibly of Amsterdam)—Guicciardini mentioned him directly following *Giovanni Cornelis d'Amsterdam*, meaning Jacob Cornelisz.; but this Lamberto is a shadowy figure to us—unless he be Lambert van Amersfort, whom the Italian lists elsewhere.

Dirick d'Harlem—He is mentioned following Giovanni Bellagamba. This is another empty name to us, unless it actually apply to Dieric Bouts, who is listed as *Dierick du Lovano* in his appropriate place, i.e. much earlier.

Gerard Horebout—This painter was active in Ghent and at the court of Henry VIII in England.

Lieven de Witte—He was apparently active in Ghent about 1530.

Hans Vereycke, yclept *Cleen Hans*—He was active in Bruges, apparently about 1530.

Jan Cransse—A master in Antwerp from 1523 on.

Volckert Claesz—Active in Haarlem with designs for stained glass.

Jan van Amstel, yclept *Hollander*—An Antwerp master from 1528 on, he was a

figure of importance in the history of landscape painting. Glück identified him, in my opinion erroneously, as the Brunswick Monogrammatist (see further on, in the chapter on Jan van Hemessen).

Cornelis Cornelisz. and *Lucas Cornelisz.*—Sons of Engelbrechtsen, born in 1493 and 1495. The former (who died in 1544) moved to Bruges, the latter to England.

Frans Minnebroer—Active in Mechlin about 1530.

Claes Rogier—Active in Mechlin as a landscape painter at a period that has not been established.

Aert Claeszoon van Leyden, yclept *Aertgen*—Born in 1498, he was a student of Engelbrechtsen about 1516 and later influenced by Jan van Scorel. Our picture of his art is uncertain and defective.

The gaps we warn against concern mainly the influences in and from Holland and the development of landscape painting.

When we turn to the other side, the visible works, we find that the studies of recent decades enable us to illustrate the traditional text and infuse pictorial content into many of the name tags. We also become aware that that text is incomplete. Van Mander, for example, may know more about Ghent than we, but when it comes to Bruges, we are better informed than he. There are pictures which we are able, from some indication or other, to assign to names that are reasonably fixed in time and place; but in addition we must bring stylistic order, usually by resort to makeshift tags, to a considerable body of works for which we need to find use in our structure as best we can. Here we lack the comfort of traditional evidence, however inadequate, and must make up our own minds what is to be considered 'essential'.

Our store of pictures comprises but part of what was once available, the chance remnants cast up by time. It is true, of course, that time itself exerts a screening action, aiding the labour of selection, in that the more valuable works were saved and looked after and preserved. Particularly in the Netherlands, however, fate struck out senselessly and maliciously, destroying at random. By comparison, rather more has been preserved of the works of art sent abroad before the iconoclasts laid about them.

We must further take into account that technique affects the longevity of paintings. There was a great deal of painting in water colour on canvas, but much less of this has come down to us than of the more stable panel painting.

Apart from a given master's artistic merits, sheer quantity has left some more visible than others. Let us assume that about one in every ten paintings has survived. Well then, a master who did 500 pictures will bulk more prominently in today's store than his contemporary, who was able to finish but 50, whether because he worked more slowly or because he died young.

The blueprints left by Guicciardini and van Mander suffer from the inadequacy that we know both more and less than they did; but there is still another reason: We judge by altogether different criteria.

When we consider early Netherlandish painting, it is with a knowledge of its sequence and consequence, for we have compiled a picture of its general development—a picture that may not, of course, always be quite correct.

As historians we value and emphasize aspects of historical significance, while

as connoisseurs we dwell on what affects us personally—and we seldom succeed in distinguishing these two attitudes. Our eyes have been trained not only on van Eyck and Bruegel, but also on Manet and Cézanne, and we cannot ignore our conditioning. We look for turning points, welcome the new, the seminal, the approach that leads our way. We view painters as followers and precursors, we deal out praise and scorn as we please, by the taste of our time. There is indeed no other way of sifting and presenting in a meaningful way that chaotic and heterogeneous mass of surviving works.

In the present volume I seek to cast light on the figures that were at the height of their activity from 1520 to 1540—and come up against the worst confusion of tongues in the process. The fact that two painters lived and worked during the same period bespeaks here an uncommonly slight resemblance in their work.

Generations are like shingles on a roof—they overlap. Each is part of the preceding one and also part of the one that follows it. Each time we focus on a period, we perceive three generations rather than one—one that is still active, another active right then, and a third already active—the waning, the reigning, the oncoming.

Our biographical data are spotty. We often set transitional dates by stylistic analysis and nearly always lapse into error in the process. We tend to underestimate how active a man can be, how tenacious—in other cases, of course, we give too little credit to the capacity for change. All those nameless Masters of This and That, begotten purely of stylistic analysis, seem to have died young. We forget that a master born in 1450, whose apprenticeship may have been under the awe-inspiring influence of Rogier van der Weyden, may, by the time Jan van Scorel returned from Italy in 1525, still have been alive at the age of 75, quite likely still painting away in a profoundly different style. Historians fasten upon the moving and shifting forces and all too readily grant painters too little time, letting them come onstage later and make their exits earlier than the obscure biographical data may warrant. How badly stylistic analysis alone would lead us astray if there were no firm biographical facts and dates, we may see from the example of Lucas Cranach. His oeuvre might well shrink to two decades, when in fact it extended over five.

It is not easy to combine the challenge to the connoisseur with the task of the historian. My own goal has been to underline the figures that significantly influenced historical developments, the thrusting personalities; and mindful of that commitment I have assigned more than ordinary space to the Hollander Jan van Scorel. On the other hand, there obtrudes a wealth of works that may not mean much in the historical context yet clamour for attribution, grouping, order. The connoisseur, whether he be a 'gentleman jockey' or a professional scholar, faces his work with mingled curiosity and neutrality, qualities inevitably at odds with the historian's selective procedure. Well, collectors, dealers and museum officials may pose urgent questions about works of art, questions that demand answers, but such progress as has been made in the historical overview is largely dependent on the keen eye of the connoisseur—in the case of the present volume, for example, the endeavour, only recently crowned with success, to uncover a figure of stature in Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen.

There are, of course, painters who remain deaf to the call of the times and carry on their craftsmanship steadfastly into periods of upheaval; but they too belong to the historical context, for they provide the backdrop against which the achievements of the innovators draw an even stronger limelight. By noting run-of-the-mill standards and the persistence of tradition we gain a measuring rod to gauge the advances.

Jan Gossart, who visited Rome in 1508, represented the first generation of Netherlandish Romanists, but we are now intent upon meeting the second, men more intimately familiar with the High Renaissance in Italy, more receptive to it, prepared to shed their native traditions beyond recall, whether for better or for worse. Yet when we first look at the scene, our impressions are confused and contradictory, only in smallest part in keeping with our expectations.

Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck, from Flanders, have the best claim to be considered second-generation Romanists. Jan van Scorel, from Holland, changed his visual approach and brushwork in the Southland. Pieter Coeck, in composition, in his feeling for the human body, slipped wholly into the manner of the Renaissance in Italy at full flush.

Inevitably there are some stragglers who had to find shelter in this volume, even though they were not even members of the first Romanist generation, let alone the second. If my judgment of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene be correct, he was Jan Gossart's senior, and his only ticket of admission is that he lived a long life, deep into an age he was no longer able to comprehend. Bellegambe, on the other hand, while truly a member of Gossart's generation, dwelt off in provincial isolation, scarcely affected by the trends of the times. And as for Dirk Vellert and the Master of the Female Half-Lengths, as well as the rather younger Marinus and van Hemessen, each of these came to terms with the demands of the day in his own fashion.

One can understand the Netherlanders' relation to Italy properly only by realizing at once that the strange new formal world came to them predominantly in black-and-white, through drawings, cartoons, engravings. How to paint was not the area in which the painters of the Northland wished to be instructed—they wanted to learn what to paint. They accepted to the best of their ability the new architecture, ornamentation, composition, motives, postures, types and scales, but they gave little thought to relinquishing their wonted technical approach. It was in matters of taste and knowledge that the Netherlandish painters around 1530 felt inferior to the Italians. In technique they fancied themselves at least their peers. Of course conflict and tension did arise and technique was inevitably affected, sad to say mostly in a negative way, becoming less meticulous and painstaking.

The Master of the Legend of the Magdalene

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The Master of the Legend of the Magdalene seems here to have been behind his time, although in a certain measure this is my fault rather than his. I have hesitated too long to speak of him at length. He did make his appearance twice¹, the first time when I threw light on the group of Brussels painters among the followers of Rogier van der Weyden. He survived by a matter of decades the circle of companions among whom he was discerned—the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine and the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. On first appearance he seemed somehow connected with the Brussels court, and evidently he managed to maintain this honorific connection over a long period.

He got his makeshift name from a scattered altarpiece that details the legend of the Magdalene at unwonted length (10, Plates 7-9). The entire triptych has come down to us and comprises the following panels:

- a) *The Magdalene Washing the Saviour's Feet*. Budapest museum (87.5 × 70).
- b) *The Raising of Lazarus*. Copenhagen museum (126 × 115).

These two panels, partly cropped and pieced out, formed the middle of the altarpiece, about 180 cm wide and originally curved at the top².

- c) *The Magdalene as a Mounted Huntress*. Formerly in the Figdor collection, Vienna (122 × 74). This is the interior of the left shutter.

- d) *The Magdalene Preaching in a Wood*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (122 × 74). This is the interior of the right shutter.

- e) *A donor with St. Louis and Christ the Gardener*. Schwerin museum (121 × 75). This is the exterior of the left shutter.

- f) *The donor's wife and daughter with Sts. Magdalene and Margaret*. Schwerin museum (121 × 75). This is the exterior of the right shutter.

It seems likely that the identity of the donor will yet be established—his name was Louis, that of his spouse Magdalene and of his daughter Margaret. Judging by the style, this altarpiece was done between 1515 and 1520. With its portraits, male and female types, landscape and architecture, it offers a rich documentation of the painter's skill and character.

The figures are large-headed, and stocky rather than tall. The faces are vacant and doll-like, with dark, flat-lying eyes. They look as though they were of turned wood, painted and lacquered. The stiffly extended donor fingers seem jointless, their differences in length exaggerated. They end in sharply marked oval nails. The mouths pout slightly, with sharply outlined lips that are dark, as though painted with lipstick. Hair is sometimes brushed into a fringe over the forehead and is indicated rather mechanically with a few parallel lines.

The ground is curiously stepped, with flat slaty layers of stone ending in jagged fractures. The bark of the column-like trees is patchy, and leaves grow straight from the trunks. The faces seem unawakened and their expression never gets beyond a languid and vacuous gravity mingled with dull surprise.

The master was heavy-handed—but his hand was also sure in its graphic

1. Volume IV, p. 50, and Volume VII., p. 88.

2. J. Tombu presented an ingenious reconstruction in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1927, pp. 299 ff.

emphasis of the main features while neglecting detail. He worked with a certain routine borne of long experience.

It did not require much acumen to enlarge his œuvre. Altarpieces, devotional panels, half-length Madonnas and portraits accumulated in large number, readily recognizable as cast from the same die.

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Many of the half-length Madonnas that came from his workshop, evidently at bargain prices, were painted against a gilt ground patterned with dark dots, a primitive and naïve way of providing an air of holiness (19, Plate 14). In many cases the postures go back to Rogier van der Weyden, demonstrably or presumably.

The sole inscribed date is found on an *Annunciation* kept in the museum at Münster (15, Plate 12). The verso carries a picture of a nun as donatrix, together with an inscription: *SO. RKA. NA Vand. Stoct. P' FSSIE NONE. A^O. XV. XX. DIE. XXIII JUNII*—the year 1520, in other words, although this may well be only the latest possible date.

I mentioned the name of this master when I analyzed the triptych with the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* that went to the Melbourne museum³. I now revise my judgment and agree partly with Hulin's view, as communicated by J. Tombu⁴. Three rather than four masters had a hand in this historical curiosity, each of them having had to do a single panel:

Centre: Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, Rogier's most faithful follower.

Right shutter, recto and verso: Master of the Embroidered Foliage, another member of the Brussels circle of Rogier followers.

Left shutter, recto and verso: Master of the Legend of the Magdalene.

The left wing can be rather precisely dated, and that probably applies to the whole altarpiece. In the representation of the *Marriage at Cana*, the Burgundian nobles are seated at table in precise genealogical sequence—Philip the Good with his three wives, Charles the Bold with his wife, Maximilian and Mary, and lastly—unwived—Philip the Fair. Now since Philip married in 1496, the altarpiece must have been done before then. To the fore, vigorously emphasized, stands Adolph of Cleves, presumably as the donor. He died in 1492. Thus we have a latest possible date; and since Philip the Fair, who was born in 1478, looks quite grown-up, the altarpiece can scarcely have been commissioned long before 1492.

Adolph of Cleves was doubly related by marriage with the House of Burgundy, his mother having been sister to Philip the Good, his wife that sovereign's daughter. Thus he was brother-in-law to Charles the Bold and granduncle to Philip the Fair. This may serve to explain how he came to have portraits of his noble family connections inserted into this panel.

But one work from the hand of this master stands in its original place, in the cathedral at Mechlin, one panel of several that relate the legend of St. Romualdus at length (25, Plate 18)⁵. The donor, Jehan Micault († 1539) was paymaster of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Mechlin, like Brussels, was a seat of the court.

The large number of highly placed figures among the ladies and gentlemen portrayed by this master confirm that he was close to the court for a long time (30–32, Plates 21, 22). He painted Philip the Fair more than once and at different times, perhaps as early as 1483—that would be the panel in the John G. Johnson

3. Volume IV, p. 59, No. 49, Plates 52, 53.

4. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1929, pp. 258 ff.

5. Cf. Volume IV, p. 67.

Collection in Philadelphia—then again in 1490, a painting in the possession of Count Montferrand, and lastly around 1500, as shown in many replicas. He did Philip's daughters too. There are portraits of the sisters of Charles V, at more or less tender ages, in Hampton Court and elsewhere, that display at the very least some hint of his stylistic habits (35, Plate 24). There are portraits of Charles V himself, showing him with a closely trimmed beard, done about 1525 (27, Plate 20); a portrait of Ferdinand I (29, Plate 21); and one of Mary of Hungary in widow's weeds, in other words done after 1526 (34, Plate 23). He also painted the exiled King Christian II of Denmark (28, Plate 20).

There seems to have been a great demand for such portraits, to serve as gifts for foreign courts as well as for deserving and highly placed personages at home. Some of the portraits, especially those of the reigning sovereigns, had to be supplied in several copies, sometimes many. We must not expect too much of these. For the most part they were copies simply turned out in the workshops of the court painters.

In the time around 1490 it was easy for our master to satisfy the needs of his patron Philip the Fair⁶. During the ensuing period, from 1505 to 1530, however, the court had other portraitists at its disposal—Jan Mostaert, Master Michiel, Gossart, van Orley, Vermeyen—and it is remarkable that the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene was able to hold his own among such renowned painters. They came and went. He stayed on. At times swift and punctual delivery did the trick, sometimes also, no doubt, a reasonable fee.

The donors of the devotional panels and altarpieces—insofar as their identity can be established from the armorial bearings—were respected personalities close to the court, men like Jean Micault, Paymaster of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Thomas Isaacq, King of Arms of the same order, Christopher Knyvet (9, Plate 6), Philip Hannock, Charles de Clercq (13, Plate 11)⁷.

We must not expect that the portraits were invariably done from life. In one instance, we can catch the master copying, a portrait of Ferdinand I, born in 1503 and looking about 25, done in the master's style (29, Plate 21). Counter to his habit of showing fingers extended or limp, one hand in this panel gestures vigorously. This posture appears in another portrait of the sovereign, in Vienna, done by a South German painter⁸. Presumably the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene was working from an original conception by Vermeyen, on which the portrait in Vienna was also based, rather than from that picture directly. Vermeyen is definitely known to have painted King Ferdinand, from life, in Innsbruck. If our master did copy Vermeyen, he must have still been alive around 1530.

The finest portrait by this master known to me, apparently done from life, was sold with the Simon collection in Berlin (41, Plate 26). It is a bust-length portrait of a man, his face half-turned, standing straight and tall, both hands at the lower edge. The format itself is high and rounded at the top. The simple dress and the hat fashion point to a time around 1515. The critical contours—profile, mouth, eyelids—tend towards geometrical simplification and straightforwardness. The foreshortening is not wholly successful, the nose being rather too much in profile and also rather too much of the eye shown on the side of the face that is averted from the viewer. The tight-lipped mouth curves in a single line. The

6. By far the best portrait of Philip, however, formerly in the Engel-Gross collection, now in the Reinhart collection, Winterthur, came from the brush of the Master of St. Giles [1].

7. Cf. the carefully marshalled evidence in the article by J. Tombu, *loc. cit.*

8. Cf. von Engerth, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, Vol. 11, 1890, p. 110.

master seems to have been using a kind of shorthand, so to speak. The fingers seem almost jointless and the hands are awkwardly posed.

The economy of means employed in this portrait, reminiscent of medallion art, lapses into masklike rigidity of the kind peculiar to primitive idols when it comes to royal portraits, for the most part workshop productions, in which the contours are mercilessly marked.

The master's style never really changed at heart, but the rich store of works that survive does show gradual modifications in form—I should not like to go so far as to describe it as development. Initially his shapes were spare and meagre, within a painting area entirely adequate for the purpose in hand. Later on they became rather inflated, and the scale grows too large for the format, as though the panels were lagging behind in size; nor did observational power grow in step with this outward expansion, and the master's inherent vacuousness becomes more obtrusive in his ambitious later works than in the modest early panels with their greater stylistic unity. In terms of training and orientation he was thoroughly a child of the 15th century, and until about 1515 he managed to keep abreast of van Orley, let us say—but that was about his limit.

I have previously voiced the suspicion that the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene is none other than Pieter van Coninxloo, mentioned in certain records⁹. I now reiterate this conjecture and cite additional arguments to support my hypothesis.

The Coninxloo family, from Brussels, produced many painters. It was related by marriage to the van Orley family. In 1527 a Jan van Coninxloo was described as *parent van Orleys*. Pieter's name turns up for the first time in Brussels in 1479, and in 1481, under the name of *Pierre de Royalme* was paid for painting or making coats of arms for the obsequies for Duke John of Cleves, elder brother to that Adolph of Cleves, for whom the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, about 1490, seems to have done the *Altarpiece of the Feeding of the Five Thousand* and of whom he also did a portrait (26A, Plate 20).

In 1505 Pieter was paid for a portrait of the Regent Margaret, which Philip the Fair dispatched to England. A portrait in the Louvre is actually inscribed with the name of this great lady and—if it is indeed she—may be the very one in point (33, Plate 24). Negotiations were in train at the time, aiming at a marriage of the Hapsburg princess and King Henry VII—she was 25 in 1505. Pieter, in any event, was working for Philip the Fair around 1505, the period from which so many portraits of this sovereign in the style of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene survive. As early as 1499 he had been paid for decorating two carriages with the arms, mottoes and initials of Philip and his spouse. In 1510 he adorned a fountain in the courtyard of Coudenberg Palace in Brussels with a coat of arms, having been entrusted with rather similar commissions some four years before. There is a record of a payment to Pieter van Coninxloo in 1513 *par ordonnance de Madame quatre tableaux de Monseigneur et Mesdame Soeurs*, in other words for portraits of Charles V and his sisters.

The records show that this painter was favoured by Margaret after the death of her brother, as he had been by Philip the Fair himself. He was born in 1460 at the latest and worked in Brussels between 1481 and 1513, possibly also in Mechlin.

9. Volume VII., pp. 87 f.
Cf. A. J. Wauters (after
Pinchart), *Bulletin des
Musées Royaux du
Cinquantiennaire*, 1914.

All this fits our impression of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene—who must have reached an advanced age, however.

The armorial bearings in his altarpieces are notably large and clearly done with loving care, and the evident interest in courtly and knightly dress displayed in them is also consistent with a painter who decorated state coaches and ingratiated himself with his patrons, whose continuing favour he enjoyed by knowledgeable, conscientious and even obsequious attention to detail, which they may have valued at times more highly than sheer artistic merit.

Pieter's portrait of the regent was conveyed to England and handed to the king by Thomas Isaacq, who bore the title of *Toison d'or, premier roy d'armes*. Well, this was the gentleman¹⁰—he lived in Brussels and died in 1539 or 1540—for whom the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene did the altarpiece shutters in the Rijksmuseum; and this is a new argument to support my conjecture.

Listed in the regent's inventory are *trois portraictures faictes sur thaille à la semblance de Mesdames Lyenor, Ysabeaubz et Marie soeurs du roy. Autre peinture sur thaille à la semblance du roy lui estant josne prince*. If Pinchart has correctly identified these with the ones done by Pieter, then an added clause in the inventory, *assez mal faicte*, applied to the emperor's likeness, might support our hypothesis, for beside the treasures in Margaret's possession portraits by the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene were scarcely apt to make a favourable impression.

Whether or not he was Pieter van Coninxloo, this painter, working in the spirit of a competent valet, overlapped the working spans of van Orley and Vermeyen. He may not mean a great deal in the annals of painting, but to the historian who seeks to savour the actuality of that age, his sureness of hand within the limits of his endowment and his successful career are memorable.

In the art inventories of the Regent Maria we repeatedly encounter the name of another painter, Willem Scrots, who is described as *paintre de la royne douagière d'Hongrie*. He was active between 1537 and 1556, mainly as a portraitist. I think I have identified him as a mediocre master, the author of many portraits known to me of royal and highly placed personages. On one occasion the author of the inventories calls him *certain Maître Guillaume*. One might infer that this painter was not exactly renowned and that the stock-taker heard the name with some surprise, perhaps for the first time.

This court painter did for the most part portraits of medium size. The quirk by which he can be invariably identified lies in his eyes, which bulge forward almost pathologically. If he is indeed Willem Scrots, his relation to the Regent Maria must have been much the same as that of the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, who was presumably Pieter van Coninxloo, to the Regent Margaret. I have tentatively given him the makeshift name of 'Master of the Regent Maria'.

10. J. Tombu, *Revue d'Art*, January 1929, p. 39.

The Master of the Female Half-Lengths

18

In the 16th century there was a great deal of canny commercial exploitation of Netherlandish painting, based on its fame and splendid achievements. Flemish panel pictures were in keen demand everywhere. Painters' workshops were busy with production for export, notably in Bruges and Antwerp. The store of paintings known to us today includes many replicas and it seems sometimes as though there were painters who regarded themselves as specialists in 'reproduction'. One of the causes—or perhaps a consequence—may have been the fact that the graphic arts were cultivated with not nearly the same care in Antwerp and Bruges as was the case in South Germany.

When it comes to the giants—say, Quentin Massys or Joos van Cleve—it is usually not too difficult to distinguish copies from the master's own autograph works; but the work of the lesser masters is characterized by replicas of equal merit, distinct only in superficial detail.

One of the successful and popular figures among the prolific painters was the so-called Master of the Female Half-Lengths, thanks to the zealously pursued specialty that gave him his makeshift name. Not that he did only appealing female half-lengths and nothing else! He also painted altarpieces of modest dimensions and especially half-length Madonnas in plenty (61, Plate 36).

His œuvre seems footloose and adrift, a plaything for the critics of art. Nothing is in its original location or properly dated. The altarpieces carry no armorial bearings that might provide clues to patrons or time and place of execution. On at least two occasions the Master of the Female Half-lengths copied Jan Gossart's seated *Man of Sorrows* of 1527, each time modestly inscribing the work *Malbodius invenit*, like an engraver (59) 121. Even without this temporal signpost, however, his time is readily inferred. He evidently belonged to the generation born around 1500 and reaching full flower around 1530. Many of his pictures that have turned up in the past decade have come from Spain.

Wickhoff¹ deigned to give attention to this harmless painter, 'proving' with quite inadequate knowledge of the pictorial material but much acumen and literary learning that he was none other than Jean Clouet, a Netherlander who depicted spirited and musical ladies at the court of the king of France. Wickhoff's essay is amusing, unlike so many excursions in art history. It is also wrong-headed in its findings, which does put it in the same pot.

A court painter must be above all a portraitist, something the Master of the Female Half-Lengths is most definitely not. Perhaps 'pseudo genre' is the best term to describe the species of the female half-length as cultivated by more than one painter in the Netherlands, e.g. Ysenbrant, Benson, the Master of the Parrot. Whether the youthful beauty is shown writing, reading or making music, some type of small vessel is always added, justifying the title of Magdelene. Sanctity, however, is largely limited to that attribute. The emphasis is on prettiness and gay clothes—and the good fortune that enables the lady to devote herself to

1. *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, Vol. 22, 1901, pp. 221 ff.

elegant, agreeable or learned pastimes. Since the Magdalene had not always led a pious life, she could be shown as a dancer or huntress, as well as a courtesan. She was 'the lady' just as St. Jerome was 'the scholar'. One of the features of genre is stereotypes for certain pursuits and stations.

In temperament and taste this master is close to the painters of Bruges. His ideal female type is sometimes reminiscent of Ysenbrant. In all likelihood, however, he worked in Antwerp, where specialized production was most likely to bring success. Another bit of evidence in favour of the Schelde port is that such landscapes of his as are known to us decidedly follow the pattern of Patenier². He may have been one of many who moved from Bruges to Antwerp early in the 16th century.

There are a few cases in which the notes from which the ladies are reading their music are those of French songs. Wickhoff actually identified a poem by a well-known French poet, Marot, which he sought to use as an eloquent argument for the painter's nationality and locale. Alas, successful Netherlandish composers of the first part of the 16th century were fond of setting French poems to music as a knowledgeable musical historian has assured me, and words by Marot may very well have been sung in the Netherlands. Indeed, the ladylike ambience espoused by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths on the pretext that he was actually representing female saints was thoroughly French in orientation, just as the masculine, learned and clerical genre tended to Latin.

Wickhoff's conclusion stemmed from a rather obsessive view of the French spirit. His conclusion may not be tenable, but pictures of this kind may well have been well-received in France. A passage in Brantôme's book, *Vie des Dames Galantes*³, seems to relate to the kind of paintings done by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. If it does not tell us the purpose for which these pictures were painted, it does inform us how they could be used. It speaks of pictures of women, with German flutes poised for music, brought from Flanders to France, to be set up before the fireplaces in inns and taverns.

Writing, reading or making music, the young women, nearly always with faces half-turned, keep comfortably within the picture area (81-105, Plates 41-45). Half-barred windows are often featured, and wood-panelling, recesses for books, a wall-clock, a table with writing utensils and, of course, the ostentatious vessel—but the room tends to form a dark ground for the figure rather than enclosing it. Our beauties, wide in the shoulder and décolletage, the latter usually running in an acute angle towards the armpits, wear trim velvet dresses, the texture of which is emphasized by sharply lighted ridges. Their sleeves consist of embroidered bands alternating with puffed linen and ending in crimped cuffs that reach to the hands. They wear their prettily decorated close-fitting caps far back on their heads, allowing us to see a good deal of their carefully parted hair, with a fringe of tiny curls. The delicately shaped and manicured hands befit the overall courtly aspect. The master seems to have taken special pains to invest the young women's faces with charm and appeal. The features are of almost stereotyped symmetry, the upper lip protruding slightly, the wings of the straight nose scarcely modelled, the eyebrows high and delicately drawn. The girls are sedate, with a touch of roguishness and complacency and what they are writing or reading, the musical

2. Cf. Vol. Ixb, pp. 108 f.

3. In the *Troisième Discours*.

tones they are emitting, are quite unlikely to be either indecent or titillating but rather harmless poesy with a bit of eroticism thrown in.

They are anaemic, boneless creatures, pretty but vacuous, drawn in closely held, unaccented lines and having but the most distant relationship with reality. The master wisely kept his format small, the epic and dramatic not being his forte, and thus he never got beyond a kind of luke-warm idyll. In the flesh parts, the brushwork takes on a chill and vitreous polish like cast enamel, with the contours occasionally marked. Overlapping limbs and foreshortened figures are often dubiously rendered, but the painter usually dodged difficulties he knew he did not master. With such monotony did he pursue his specialty that we are tempted to borrow the term 'branded merchandise' from the vocabulary of modern marketing.

Joos van Cleve and Ysenbrant, Provost and van Orley (around 1520) were among those who shared this penchant for feminine grace and charm, which was as much an expression of the age as was the Mannerists' delight in turmoil and mobility, but none devoted himself so exclusively to beauty *per se* as the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. This self-indulgent taste survived for centuries and the master remains a favourite even today, although only with his half-lengths.

His other works are also readily identified by types, formal idiom and brushwork. A good many have come down to us, but they draw little notice and are held in low esteem.

He painted the Adoration more than once and his compositions, architecture and ornamentation are reminiscent of the Mannerist trend, once again corroborating his association with Antwerp (56, Plate 34; 57, Plate 35). He did the Virgin and the Holy Family outdoors a number of times (74-78, Plates 39, 40) and left many half-length Madonnas, including some almost small enough to be called miniatures (61, Plate 36). He took the easy, economical way, placing the flesh parts of mother and child against a neutral dark ground and husbanding his shadows. The Virgin's head is usually wound about with a kerchief like a turban. There is a trade mark, a small round metal button that almost regularly secures the Virgin's robe.

In level of style and mode of production the Master of the Parrot is close to the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Their work coincides in time and the former was probably active in Antwerp as well. His makeshift name derives from the exotic bird with which the child is shown playing in several of his Madonna panels, e.g. one that went from the Kaufmann collection to the Pannwitz collection (Plate 210A), and a larger one in the Feist collection, Wannsee, near Berlin (Plate 210B) 131. In addition to numerous Madonnas and Holy Families, some half-length Magdalenes by him are known, as well as a few female portraits, one of which is dated 1524 on the frame (Plate 210C) 141.

In marked contrast to the Master of the Female Half-Lengths, the formal idiom of the Master of the Parrot is expansive. His ideal feminine type is womanly, matronly. He kept experimenting with foreshortenings, most of which were slightly off the mark. A wide short neck is surmounted by a generous head with a sensual mouth, its corners slightly upcurved. The nose is but feebly modelled, and on the side of the face that is turned away the over large eye is nearly always too

prominent, giving a slightly warped look to the countenance. The fingers are extended side by side and end in large oval nails. A few strands of the wavy hair curl down into the breast. The drapery tends to have many parallel folds, each one deeply shaded, that closely follow the curves of the body. Some of the panels include a low-key landscape, carefully elaborated and reminiscent of Patenier. Fruit, usually grapes, are a frequent feature in the Madonnas.

21

Still another master, this one of the next generation, worked in a spirit similar to that of the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. He was Marcelis Coffermans, who became a master in Antwerp only in 1549. He did small panels, notably for export to Spain, employing an old-fashioned enamel-like finish in surprisingly archaic compositions. His œuvre plainly manifests the relation with the graphic arts to which I have already adverted. He often worked from engravings by Dürer and Schongauer, offering a kind of colour surrogate for the black-and-white print. One of the unmistakable hallmarks of his workshop is the deteriorated blue pigment, a sign that he was flooding the market with shoddy goods. True blue was too dear for him.

His career overlaps that of Pieter Bruegel, continuing a school that seems to us today soulless, rigidified and of lesser merit, but that around 1560 still found a good market for its output, notably in Spain.

Jean Bellegambe

As far as we know, Jean Bellegambe¹ confined his work exclusively to Douai. His roots were deep in his native soil, his family having been shown to have been settled there for several generations. Located south of Lille, the town belongs to France today. Bellegambe was accounted the foremost, if not the only painter in a district that extended to Valenciennes, Arras and Cambrai, with Douai in the middle. In the ebb and tide of political events, this disputed border march was at times flooded with French culture. To say that Bellegambe worked in provincial frugality would scarcely do justice to Douai, but he assuredly did work on the outer fringes of both Netherlandish and French culture.

Born around 1470, a bit younger than Quentin Massys and older than Jan Gossart, Bellegambe presumably received his training in Douai, although, as a journeyman, following the custom of the time, he may have spent some time in Antwerp or Bruges. By 1504 he had demonstrably achieved master's status in his ancestral town and was married. He seems to have died around 1534—the precise date is not known but was certainly prior to 1540, when his wife is mentioned as a widow. Between 1510 and 1533 he was fully occupied with commissions on behalf of churches and abbeys in Douai, as well as for Arras, Cambrai, Marchiennes and the convent of Flines.

To gain a full understanding of this master and organize his surviving works in terms of stylistic analysis, we must proceed from the nine-panel polyptych he did for the abbey of Anchin in Douai between 1511 and 1520, now in the church of Notre-Dame (114, Plates 48-50). Charles Coguin, the abbot, and a number of the monks are represented as donors. That Bellegambe was the author is proved by an old entry. The master stood at the height of his career when he created this voluminous altarpiece. The centrepiece is a Holy Trinity, with a Virgin and a St. John the Baptist on the shutters, then apostles and saints. When the shutters are closed one sees Christ enthroned, the Virgin, donors and more saints. Everywhere boy angels serve to fill and enliven the areas.

Wide in extent, the work consists of tall, soaring panels; and indeed a crucial element in the overall effect is the lattice-like architecture, which is basically Gothic in spirit, despite some Renaissancelike ornamentation. There are porches and open halls with slender columns, over tall arches, lacework of metal or masonry, nude statuary, thin, decorative wreath-like chains—everything slightly ramshackle and uncertain in perspective. Rather than enclosed space, we see an airy kind of scaffolding intended to represent, in the master's naïve purpose, the splendid mansions of heaven and ignoring the laws of gravity.

The figures inserted into the architectural framework typify the same formal approach as the architectural elements themselves—they are slim and agile, with thin, long extended arms, and they move with grace and dignity. Embedded in the highly ornamented totality, they are but feebly astir with any life of their own or with individualized character.

1. C. Dehaisnes, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de Jean Bellegambe*, Lille, 1890.

Considered with reference to its time—which is that of Jan Provost and the putative Jan de Beer—the work is notably lacking in a feeling for space, a deficiency that at once leaps to the eye. Nowhere is there any action firmly turned against the picture plane. On the positive side, however, there is excellent control over the area, a youthful grace and serenity of gesture and facial features and a pleasing rhythm in the composition.

A triptych in the Lille museum was painted for the same abbey and the same Abbot Coguin, as shown by the armorial bearings (122, Plate 60). Known as *The Mystical Wine-Press*, it is more modest in effect, of an innocent sprightliness rather reminiscent of Memlinc and Joos van Cleve. The familiar title does not really fit the unusual representation. Hope and Charity are assisting mankind, in the form of a few souls, nude men and women, to climb into a pool where they are bathed clean in the blood of the Saviour. In the middle of the lofty metal shell stands the cross. There are angels, a prophet and St. John the Baptist, with banderoles and inscribed tablets. On the right shutter, Faith, with St. Catherine. *The Fountain of Salvation* would be a more suitable title for this theological allegory in picture form, visualized for the congregation by a preacher-painter who was an incorrigible optimist. The youthful figures stroll about with their limbs completely relaxed. This altarpiece, by the way, seems to have been done before the large chef-d'œuvre. Abbot Charles Coguin held office from 1506 to 1547 and probably gave the first commission soon after 1506.

Of even earlier vintage among the known store, indeed the earliest work of Bellegambe, is a panel in the Douai museum, painted on both sides (130, Plate 64). It was exhibited in Valenciennes in 1919, erroneously attributed to Jan Provost—and indeed, the master's style is not readily evident. It is a square panel, one side showing the Virgin holding her protective cloak over the monks and nuns of the Cistercian Order, the other a *Last Judgment*. The frame carries the inscription: *dame Yzabel de malefiance*. This lady was bursar of Flines Abbey in 1506², and Bellegambe is known to have executed several commissions for that institution at the time—from 1507—when Jeanne de Boubais was abbess, including an altarpiece that went from Cellier into private hands in Paris and thence to the Friedsam collection in New York (119, Plates 56, 57), as well as a diptych I saw on the art market (123, Plate 61). Stylistically, however, the Douai panel, although rather awkwardly and harshly done, is compatible with Bellegambe's mature creations.

An altarpiece with shutters from Marchiennes, in the Lille museum, with a *Holy Trinity* in the middle, while the shutters show Leonhard de Coëne and Katharina Peeters with their name saints, and Jacques Coëne, abbot of Marchiennes, with St. James, is approximately contemporaneous with the Anchin polyptych (120, Plate 55). The surviving shutters of an *Altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception* in the Douai museum date from 1526 (124, Plate 62). On the interior of these very tall wings appears Pope Sixtus with church fathers, and the donor Jean de Douai with his family and saints. The exteriors show a *Sacrifice of St. Joachim* and a *St. Anne Giving Alms*, both in grisaille.

Of two altarpieces in Arras, one is actually dated 1528 (115, Plate 51), while the other seems to have been done about the same time (116, Plate 52). Another

2. As reported in the catalogue of the Valenciennes exhibition, 1918, under No. 283.

altarpiece, from Cellier, made known by de Mély, is probably this master's most felicitous work. It is said to be dated 1533, accompanying the Initial *BJ*, but this may be simply wishful thinking on the part of the French scholar, who has been rather imaginative in finding signatures. I, for one, am unwilling to draw any conclusions from this date.

24

A *Conversion of St. Paul*, which was shown in Bruges in 1902, came to my attention again a few years ago on the Paris art market (135, Plate 66). It is devoid of architecture and ornamentation, hence offers no marks for identification at first glance. A clap of thunder, a bolt from the sky, strikes into a group of mounted soldiers, causing terror and confusion. Somehow the painter managed to come to terms with this unwonted dramatic challenge. In his penchant for ornamentation, he provided men and horses with fanciful, artfully worked armour and richly waving plumes. Postures are exuberant, although they remain within the picture plane. Agitation is given expression rather naïvely and histrionically through gaping mouths and rolling eyes. The beholder is reminded of a tourney, a chapter from a mediæval romance, rather than of a conversion.

Another major work by Bellegambe, preserved at Lützenshena in the Speck von Sternburg collection (117, Plate 53), has been erroneously attributed in print to the Master of Oultremont—which would be Jan Mostaert³. The centrepiece carries a *Crucifixion*, the shutters a *Christ Carrying the Cross* and a *Lamentation*, and a *Battle of Constantine* and *Constantine with the Cross of Christ* on the versos.

A diptych which I first saw at a Paris auction and then on the Berlin art market—it is presently on the New York art market—was done for Jeanne de Boubais, abbess of Flines, as proved by an armorial bearing with the representation of the donatrix on the exterior (123, Plate 61)⁴. The master had already executed a commission for this abbess in 1511. The recto of the diptych shows a half-length Virgin on the left side and St. Bernard with a Cistercian monk on the right. On the Cellier triptych which, judging from the arms, was also commissioned by the abbess of Flines, St. Bernard appears with exactly the same crosier and also in the company of Cistercian monks.

Inevitably there were connections with Antwerp. To the limit of his capacity Bellegambe must have been influenced by the splendour, sovereign skill and emotional profundity of the works Massys was then doing. In a few of his own works a faint glow from this light is discernible. In one altarpiece shutter in Douai, showing *St. Joachim's Sacrifice Rejected*, echos of Massys's Brussels altarpiece are unmistakable. When sentimentality invades Bellegambe's simple mind, it is derived from Quentin's sublime sensitivity. The Antwerp Mannerists around 1510 stood at a rather lower level, hence were more accessible and comprehensible. Their newfangled turbulence seemed worthy of imitation to the Douai painter—although his well-developed sense of moderation kept him from excesses. A few of his more dramatic scenes do seem to follow the less desirable characteristics of the Mannerists with a rather laboured and wind-blown style.

It is not quite easy to describe Bellegambe's ideal feminine type and nothing characterizes him more aptly than this difficulty. In order to preserve his cherished and appealing grace, which he was intent upon doing, he avoided accentuated features, carefully hinting at a countenance soft as silk, with a minimum of

3. A more accurate judgment was pronounced by P. Wescher in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1932, 217 ff.

4. On the question of this armorial bearing, also appearing on the Cellier triptych, cf. de Mély, *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 1908, pp. 97 ff.

shadow, a longish nose and ever so slightly arched and narrow but sensual lips. All in all, these women, lovely in their immaturity, are bathed in a serene tranquillity.

The child and the cherubs please with their roguish mobility, their gaze averted and nearly always diverging from the facial orientation. The men, bearded or clean-shaven, look youthful, with unfurrowed features and long noses, slightly hooked. The master was obviously intent upon investing his rough-hewn soldiers and henchmen with a martial demeanour; but although they pop their eyes exaggeratedly, they really frighten no one. The grasp of their well-shaped hands is gentle. The fingers may fan out in action, with sickle-shaped abducted thumbs, but they never grip and claw. The flesh parts are modelled with gentle transitions from light to dark and have a waxlike aspect. Dress fabrics are often given whimsical contours, forming tubular folds, frequently parallel and with moderate breaks.

The contryside usually, but not invariably, features excessively slim trees, with trunk and branches crossing and feeble foliage spreading out high up like a canopy. There are also soft round masses of leaves. The dominant tint in the palette is a blondish brown.

Bellegambe was no portraitist. I know not a single individual portrait by his hand—but that is not why I venture the statement⁵. He may have indeed received such commissions, and after all donor likenesses by him do survive; but what matters is that Bellegambe scarcely troubled to develop any individuality in his sitters. The donor heads are generalized, vacuous, as alike as peas in a pod.

Jan Provost and Jan Gossart, stemming from Mons and Maubeuge, pulled away early from that half-French soil. Provost turned to Bruges by way of Antwerp, Gossart to Italy, also via Antwerp. Bellegambe remained true to his homeland and has a good claim to be representative of it. His delight in adornment and his sense of planar decoration may have sprung from local tradition. At times he was in touch with the restless life of Antwerp and responded in some measure to the demand for realism that came his way about 1520. A certain striving for spatial actuality and pointed narrative is noticeable in a few of his later works, especially the altarpieces in Arras and the two panels with legend of St. Agatha (127, Plate 63). In the picture in which that saint is shown chained to the wall of an archway, the arch is firmly constructed of stone blocks in fair perspective and consistently lighted. The caitiffs are shown in vigorous action at the gruesome work. Texture of flesh and fabric is highly realistic. The saint's oval head with its open hole of a mouth is touching in its tortured stupor; but despite this enhancement of realism, the composition remains rather meagre, little more than a triangle planted in the picture area.

All of Bellegambe's dramatic scenes seem loquacious in effect rather than grave or moving. The master in his hometown was guided by the conservative tastes of his ecclesiastical environment, comprising especially wealthy and aristocratic canonesses. What finds playful and fairytale-like expression in his art is a kind of complacent convent theology, carefully insulated against the struggles of the times. In Bellegambe's eyes the supernatural remained ever youthful.

Working our way through Dehaines's admirably sound and reliable book on

5. P. Wescher (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1932, pp. 217 ff.) has attributed a male portrait, formerly in the Kremer collection, Dortmund, to Bellegambe, but his reasons are not very persuasive.

Bellegambe, we cannot but marvel at the abundance and variety of challenges that fell to this master. He was *sui generis* in Douai—everything was entrusted to him, everything was asked of him. It almost looks as though panel paintings were exceptions in the output of his workshop, for he prepared designs for almost every art form—buildings, church furnishings, picture frames, tapestries, embroideries for vestments.

We are mindful that the French are eminently talented in 'applying' art. We recall the glorious book illuminations, the flowering of tapestry in Arras. Devotional panels by Bellegambe have come down to us which nevertheless manifest a decorative sense clearly stemming from the tradition and practice of craftsmanship.

In his enumeration of Netherlandish artists, Guicciardini devoted a special section to those working in stained glass, naming in second place, after *Art van Hort di Nimega*, *Dirick Jacobs Felart maestro eccellentissimo, & di grande inventione*. He praised the technical achievements in stained glass in connection with these names, evidently aware, or at least believing, that the masters here honoured made not merely designs for windows, like, say, van Orley or Pieter Coeck, but rather painted directly on the glass.

According to the Antwerp guild register, *Dierick Jacobssone (Felaert)* became a full master in 1511. He was regularly described as a *ghelaesmakere*, registered six apprentices between 1512 and 1530 and seems to have enjoyed high renown, since he was twice elected dean of the guild, in 1518 and 1526. He was at work in Antwerp as late as 1539 (1540). An entry dating from that year states that his servants were paid a tip when they delivered a glazing near the pulpit of the cathedral¹. We thus have confirmation that painted glass work was not merely designed in this master's workshop, but actually executed.

Dürer speaks of *Meister Dietrich Glasmaler* or *Glaser* and in the autumn of 1520 received from him red pigment, 'of the kind found in new bricks.' Early in 1521 Dürer presented this master with some woodcuts and in May of that year was lavishly entertained by him.

In 1526 Felaert drew an emblem for the Antwerp guild and had it printed². A woodcut that has become rather rare and of which a specimen has turned up in Oxford, carries the date of 1526 and corresponds to the specification³. The arms of the painters' guild, held by winged bulls, are shown in an elaborate frame, above the motto *Wt Jonsten Versaemt*. Up above are the imperial arms, by the sides the arms of Flanders and Antwerp. At the very bottom are the initials *D—V* with a pentagram, the draughtsman's signature, namely Felaert's. This woodcut, at one stroke, brings our view into focus. The initials *D—V* with the star belong to an engraver long since known and esteemed—in the older catalogues he is listed as *Dirk van Staren* (Plate 70B).

The sign appears on many tondo designs for glass panes, occasionally with a date. A very carefully done tondo, a *Triumph of Time*, reached the Brussels Musée des Arts Décoratifs from the Goldschmidt-Przibram collection (Plate 70A) 151. We can read on it *Velle* and *Diric* (first name indistinct) and 1517 AP—21. Such datings with month and day occur also in a few of the master's engravings.

Owing to the efforts of Glück⁴ and the published contributions of Beets⁵, we have a rich store of exhibits that speak in a clear voice and supplement one another. There are woodcuts dated 1526, engravings dated—if at all—between 1522 and 1544, drawings in very large number, mostly tondo designs, particularly abundant for the year 1523, carefully executed small stained-glass works by the master's own hand, monumental stained-glass windows in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, and lastly a few paintings.

1. *De Liggeren*... p. 75, note.

2. *De Liggeren*... p. 108.

3. Illustrated in *L'Art Flamand & Hollandais*, Vol. 6, p. 145.

4. *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaisershauses*, Vol. 22, 1901, No. 1, pp. 1-34.

5. *L'Art Flamand & Hollandais*, Vol. 6, 1906, p. 133; Vol. 7, 1907, p. 105; Vol. 10, 1908, p. 89; Vol. 18, 1912, p. 129.

It has all been a bit too pat and smug, and as usual in such cases, there have been some lapses. Glück, the first to perceive the nub of the matter, nevertheless erred when he confused Dirk Vellert with Jan Swart and Pieter Coeck; nor did Beets always stay within the limits that separate the stained glass painter from the putative Jan de Beer and van Orley. Apparently Vellert occupied an intermediate position in time between the Antwerp Mannerists on the one hand and Pieter Coeck on the other, and he exerted a stimulating effect on several Antwerp workshops. It is our job to identify his formal idiom, approach and taste with the greatest clarity, and in view of the many signed engravings and drawings this is relatively easy. Nor is it very hard to perceive his development, since there is no dearth of inscribed dates.

Vellert was nimble in picking up almost any medium and in the use of the engraver's burin he was second to no other Netherlander, save only Lucas van Leyden; but by training he was a worker in stained glass. He lived during a period of splendour, when affluence and vitality were at a peak in Antwerp, and one secret of his success was his penchant for ostentatious ornamentation. The challenge that dominated him was to fill a given area, often a tondo, with pleasing elements. When he represented brawling men he was less concerned with danger, fear and extremity, with why the thing happened and what might be its consequences, than with the effective contours of interlocked bodies related to the picture area or the architectural backdrop. Around 1530 van Orley the panel painter quite easily moved into stained glass, while Dirk Vellert, the stained glass specialist, went into panel painting—indications that the whole world of art was preoccupied with the decorative element.

Dirk Vellert was gifted with that dangerous type of skill that causes its owner to grow complacent and careless. He moved within the world of the Renaissance as though it were his element and learned a thing or two from Italian engravings, employing, with the taste of a man of the world, a slender architecture, ornamental rather than constructive in character. True, he never equalled Gossart's mastery of Italian architecture, but he did manage to expunge the Gothic element completely from his lively imagination. He was fond of the circle, which may have had a connection with the custom of designing roundel windows. Many of his lines circle—in the heads and helmets, the shoulders and backs, the spirals and volutes, the rings and wreaths. The curving contours of his bending figures adapt themselves to his round framing.

He emphasized the horizontal, against the soaring trend of the Gothic. His bodies, massed, foreshortened, overlapping, look short and stocky, especially at the later stages—his engraving of 1544, called *The Flood*, is an especially impressive example. Powerful shoulders, arms like clubs, thighs almost pathologically thickened at this period—although even around 1523 they were rugged enough. And because his men and women were essentially clumsy and slow-moving, their vehement postures leave an even more violent impression. The flesh does not droop, the muscles are far from flabby—they have a firm and solid quality, but at the same time they do not swell in contraction, they are not the muscles of gymnasts or athletes. Pieter Coeck's creatures, on the other hand, seem trained for the dance. Their feet are small and their ankles trim, their muscles

ripple. One reason that I am emphasizing this contrast is that the two masters have more than once been confused with each other.

Vellert trained the hair in his works into single locks, often flame-shaped. His hands have rather short backs, with the fingers splayed in a fussy manner. His generous, billowing drapery is spread out, blocked into angular motives, straight lines ending in small hooks.

Vellert's formal idiom seems to have taken on new development after 1520, probably under the ubiquitous influence of Jan Gossart, who then dominated the scene. The collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild includes a design for an altarpiece, signed and dated 1520—really more the framework of an altarpiece—in which the figures are of surprising slenderness⁶. It is a thin and fragile frame, pierced and loosely organized, with candelabra-like half-columns and the indispensable discs. It was not until 1523, according to ample evidence, that the figures began to take on compact fulness.

A large drawing for a stained-glass window is preserved in Brunswick 161. Highly characteristic of Vellert's formal ideas, it is a free-hand design rather than a scrupulous pattern⁷. It shows a columnar structure of several storeys, seen from below in perspective, with friezes, pilaster casings, manifold ornament, spiralling volutes that terminate in animal heads and nude men, as crests or insets, in vehement albeit soullessly ornamental postures.

The bodies are proportioned in keeping with the architectural context, stocky and tall in alternation, but always with mighty thighs and arching shoulders. A sterling example is a powerful lad struggling or toying with a volute. His body is composed of clumps of flesh, sharply demarcated one from another. The head, seen from below, is foreshortened to such a degree that chin and cheek form a single horizontal. Done with dash and inspiration, the drawing reveals the enhanced self-confidence of the successful decorator.

Vellert's forms are graphically laid clear in his many tondo designs, intended for the dull eyes of his assistants, who had to fill in the detail. Contours are emphasized, while interior lines consist in the main of small hooks, points and rows of dots. Overall, his line moves tremulously, with many breaks, yet always consistently. Some spatial depth is achieved by foreshortening the figures, but the drawing does not actually take aerial perspective into account—the mark of the stained-glass painter—and the compositions seem to be crowded into a single layer.

The greatest professional claims on Vellert the versatile came from commissions for large church windows. His fame had spread far and wide. It was he who created the vast glazing of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, and the great rose window in the façade of St. Mary's, Lübeck⁸.

For such jobs Vellert probably provided no more than the designs, leaving the execution to foreign workshops. Yet the documents already cited⁹ show quite clearly that his own workshop in Antwerp actually did stained-glass work. Indeed, he did a few small clear-glass tondos with his own hand. Distinguished by their subtlety and dense drawing, several examples are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in addition to the one dated 1517, in Brussels, and two others in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin, and the museum at Darmstadt. Vellert's resources were mainly directed towards design, invention, composition.

6. Illustrated in *L'Art Flamand & Hollandais*, Vol. 10, p. 103.

7. Attributed to a 'South-Netherlandish Master', around 1525, in Prestel Society Publication No. 48.

8. Cf. Beets, *loc. cit.* Not all of the attributions claimed by this author are plausible.

9. Cf. p. 27.

Vellert as a panel painter constitutes but a meagre chapter. One altarpiece that has found recognition as being by his hand is the one that reached Herr von Auspitz in Vienna from the Lippmann collection, ultimately landing in the Rotterdam museum (139, Plate 68). The centrepiece is an *Adoration of the Magi*, while the left shutter shows a *Nativity* and the right one a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. By themes and other features as well, this triptych harks back to the many shuttered altarpieces by Antwerp Mannerists that survive. The market had apparently become standardized around 1520 to such a degree that Vellert followed suit, not merely iconographically, but in conception and composition as well. His types and formal idiom are readily recognized. The heads are broad, sometimes sharply foreshortened, seen from below, the robes spread out widely, the hands of a form already described, especially those of the Virgin in the left shutter. The connoisseur of Vellert's engraving and drawings will find all these features familiar.

The invention in this altarpiece lacks Vellert's personal stamp. Architecture and ornamentation are barer and more frugal than might be expected. Two columns rather like giant candlesticks, ram's heads, dolphins, a bit of denticulation—decorative elements, in other words, that were common property in the Netherlands around 1525. Perhaps most significant are the chubby putti, especially the nude angel, seen from the back, fussing with a volute in the entablature of the centrepiece.

The palette has a blond and silvery sheen of gentle harmony, the brush-work is on the cursory side. On this unwonted soil the master seems to be suppressing his individuality; but he also seems to be saying: Of course I can do this sort of thing too, it's easy, no trouble at all.

A *Nativity* by Vellert in the museum at Lille has drawn rather little notice (140, Plate 69). It is a more concentrated work, of greater originality than the better known triptych and steeped to a greater degree in the master's spirit. Dirk Vellert here rose above the level of the Antwerp devotional panels. The figures are closely integrated with the locale which breathes a mood-laden air of domesticity. The bold gestures that stand out against the picture plane also remind of the South German school. Dürer probably stimulated the master in some measure—neither profoundly nor enduringly—and indeed, he is known to have met Vellert.

Baldass has drawn attention to a *Holy Kindred*, a picture in horizontal format in the picture gallery at Kremsmünster abbey (Plate 70c) 171¹⁰. It is not a traditional triptych, but it is trisected by pillars in the picture. Judging from the types, it was unquestionably done in Vellert's workshop. The Rijksmuseum has a copy of the central portion 181 and a replica of the right side is in Herdringen castle, Westphalia 191. The work has a certain satirical sharpness in the Mannerist style, which detracts a bit from its effect and suggests that others may have had a hand in it. Exactly the same applies to an altarpiece with shutters in the little gallery of the Brussels city hospital, a turbulent *Man of Sorrows* composition (Plate 71), also with many half-length figures 110). A privately owned *Visitation* in Valencia is of mediocre quality—it is probably a copy—but wholly in the master's style (Plate 70d).

10. *Belvedere*, 1922, pp. 162 ff.

In respect of panel painting, Dirk Vellert pre-empted but modest historical space, but when it comes to taste, decoration, formal idiom, he rates the most painstaking notice. An immediate follower of Jan de Beer and a predecessor of Pieter Coeck, he excels in fashionable decor with naïve felicity. It was only Pieter Coeck who introduced a more scrupulous knowledge of Southern architecture and ornamentation and of the principles of consistent construction, and with them, alas, a certain academic sobriety. Vellert's decorative elements, whether comprising human figures, geometrical patterns or plant forms, were still bursting with life.

Art von Hort di Nimega, whom Guicciardini praised as a stained-glass painter, was none other than *Ardt Ortkens glaesmakere*, who became a full-fledged master in Antwerp in 1513, two years after Vellert. Between 1516 and 1531 he registered no fewer than eight apprentices. The Italian describes him as a citizen of Antwerp and a great imitator of Italian drawings and praises him as the one who invented *la maestria di cuocere & colorire sopra il vetro Christallino*.

There are a large number of designs for small round stained-glass panes which I have tentatively linked with Ortkens. There is a drawing in the British Museum, representing either *The Rape of Helena* or *Venus Triumphant*, which is signed *Adam van Ort 1424* in a later hand¹¹ (111). It may be a faulty tracing of an earlier signature which read correctly *Aert van Ort 1524*.

This particular drawing seems to be a design for a tapestry, but by far the greater part of the remaining sheets in this group are small tondi—nor is there any dearth of actual specimens of this style in glass. Their draughtsman is readily recognized, for he often joins the eyes, as though with the bridge of a pair of spectacles; and his drapery monotonously repeats angular to-and-fro motives. Many of his representations were drawn from ancient mythology and perhaps that is why he earned Guicciardini's favour. I have not thus far seen any panel painting by his hand.

11. A. E. Popham,
*Catalogue of Drawings by
Dutch and Flemish Artists*,
1932, p. 37, No. 1.

Pieter Coeck van Alost

32

When we were tracing the creative career of van Orley, we noted that around 1530 energies and propensities shifted from panel painting to tapestry and stained-glass in a most clear-cut fashion. I have suggested what were the causes and effects of this turn, which proceeded most visibly in Brussels, in the light that issued from the court¹.

This spirit of Brussels seems to have made its entry into Antwerp in the person of Pieter Coeck van Alost, who was a pupil of van Orley, according to van Mander. Born on 14th August 1502, Coeck achieved master's status in Antwerp in 1527. He died on 6th December 1550 in Brussels, where he was buried. Van Mander tells us that Coeck sojourned in Italy and Constantinople. He was twice married, the first time to Anna van Dornicke and then to Mayken Verhulst or Bessemers, who bore him three children, Pauwel, Kateleyne and Maria, who married his disciple Pieter Bruegel.

In the year 1529 he registered an apprentice, *Willem van Breda*, probably none other than Willem Key, and in 1539 another, *Colyn van Nieucastel* (Neufchatel). Not only did Pieter Bruegel study with him—at least according to van Mander—but two excellent portrait painters graduated from his studio. He was elected dean of the guild in 1537. As late as 1544 he presented still another apprentice in Antwerp, hence he probably moved to Brussels only a short time before his death.

Pieter Coeck's portrait, which appeared in 1572 in the well-known series of engraved painters' portraits and apparently goes back to a self-portrait, shows him with brush and palette. Van Mander praised him as a fine painter who did *tafelen, tafereelen* and *conterfeytselen*. He mentioned no particular painting, but dwelt at length on Coeck's literary achievement, a work on architecture. Indeed, in the title of his biography, van Mander described Coeck as a *bouwmeester* as well as a *schildermeester*. In the guild register in Antwerp, on the other hand, Coeck is listed as a *schilder* and *printer*, which actually meant a publisher rather than a printer proper.

Pieter was well-educated, a linguist who knew what he was about. He translated the works of Sebastiano Serlio into Flemish, convincing himself and his fellow citizens that he was in this way introducing the 'correct' way of building. His first work on architecture appeared in 1539 under the title *Die inventie der Colommen*.... His Serlio translations came out in parts between 1539 and 1550, in the Flemish, High German and French languages (13)².

The Antwerp street along which Philip II was to make his entry on 11th September 1549 had been transformed into a great triumphal way with arches and allegorical figures. Many painters, architects and sculptors had worked on these decorations. The Netherlands seem to have been almost foredoomed to execute monumental commissions for the most part only in the form of airy and ephemeral decorations that required a certain sensationalism and permitted excess. Pieter Coeck, of course, must have enjoyed considerable prestige as an

1. Volume VII, pp. 73 ff.

2. Cf. Robert Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Floris-Dekoration*, Bard, Berlin, 1913, p. 322.

expert on classical architecture, hence we may assume that he was deeply involved in this enterprise, if indeed he was not actually entrusted with its direction and supervision. On the other hand, Cornelis Floris, the imaginative advocate of the grotesque and of curlicues, may have been the decorator in charge.

Coeck, in any event, made a permanent record of these imperial adornments in a book of woodcuts entitled *De seer wonderlijke... Triumphelijke Incompst van... Prince Philips...* Its text is by the town scribe, Cornelius Grapheus, who, like the painter, came from Alost, and it was printed in Antwerp for *Peeter Coecke... gesworen Printere* by Gillis van Diest in 1550. Strictly speaking, Pieter claimed only to be the publisher and it must remain doubtful whether the illustrations are actually his.

As early as 1534, Coeck did a statue of the 'giant', the monstrous emblem of the Schelde port, drawn about in processions by 12 horses. Its base bore the legend: *Pet. van Aelst. pict. imp. Carol V. fecit 1534*. Van Mander, by the way, also described the master as painter to the emperor.

In the year 1533 Pieter visited Constantinople. Van Mander says he went there to persuade the sultan to give him tapestry commissions—but it was in vain. After his death, his widow published a series of woodcuts that represent the priceless harvest of that venture. It is entitled: *Ces Moeurs e fachons de faire de Turcz avecq les Regions y appartenantes ont este au vif contrefaictes par Pierre Coeck d'Alost luy estant en Turquie, l'an de Jesuchrist M.D. 33, lequel aussy de sa main propre a pourtrait ces figures duysantes a l'impression d'ycelles*. The last page carries a note that his widow *a fait imprimer les figures*. Since she, as the publisher, claimed only the printing, without mentioning the woodcuts as such, we may conjecture that the master himself planned the book and drew the woodcuts from his sketches. Unfortunately we do not have the originals, only the drawings transferred to the wood, coarsened, moreover, in the cutting. Even so, this series, apart from its historical and topographical value³, represents our most fruitful source for understanding the art of Pieter Coeck.

Horizons were expanding in the Age of Discovery and the public pined for pictures of faraway places. Netherlandish painters found themselves facing new challenges. They had to relinquish the peace and quiet of their wonted workshops. Painting pretty little pictures was no longer good enough. Jan van Scorel in the Holy Land, Pieter Coeck in Turkey, Vermeyen in Tunis—they were all fired by totally new visual experiences that had to be recorded on the spot.

Documents tell us that Vermeyen⁴ accompanied the emperor to Africa in 1535. This campaign is commemorated in a series of tapestries in Madrid, the cartoons for which are preserved in Vienna. They were conceived by Vermeyen; but documents show that he got other artists, perhaps including Pieter Coeck, to participate in executing the large cartoons. Indeed, to a certain degree these Tunisian cartoons coincide in composition, formal idiom and types with Coeck's Turkish woodcuts. From what we know about Coeck, he was, after all, more closely associated with tapestry-making than was Vermeyen. There is even a vague indication that Coeck took part in the African campaign. A 1642 inventory lists as works by his hand *Den Moor van Meester van Aelst, met Tunis achter... Den Vader vanden voors. Moor die Keyser Carel te voet valt*⁵.

3. Expertly interpreted by Th. Wiegand, 'Der Hippodrom von Konstantinopel zur Zeit Suleimans des Grossen', in *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. 23, 1908, No. 1.

4. More about Vermeyen further on, pp. 85ff.

5. Inventory of Herman de Neyt, published by J. Denucé, *De Konstkamers van Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1932, p. 101.

Unless Coeck was actually in Tunis, he may have done the Moors from Ver-meyen studies. In any event, we here encounter obscure relationships, and it is quite likely that there was mutual stimulation between these two painters who were of the same age and both enjoyed the emperor's favour.

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The Turkish woodcuts are most effectively composed, in terms of utilizing depth. The subjects are arranged like a frieze—landscape, the war camp, customs and manners, a burial ceremony, the sultan's festive procession, a topographically instructive view of Constantinople. The parts are skilfully interwoven and separated by hermae, but in such a way that the background extends uniformly behind the accentuating figurative pillars.

Pieter Coeck may have offered a cartoon sequence of this nature for execution in tapestry, and the sultan may not have found the figures and events, so familiar to him, as pictorially appealing as the Netherlander imagined and expected. The tapestry designer's hand is evident in the filling of broad spaces and the uninterrupted flow of the narrative.

The figures—men, women and children of middle size—move in lithe and relaxed fashion, in varied and dancelike contrapposto, firmly set in the terrain. The compositions vibrate with a sense of excitement, born of the exotic impressions, and in a few of the groups and figures this agitation almost rises to the level of exotic savagery. The Turks with their flowing beards look half Tartar, half Greek. Any intention of providing an anthropological account seems to have been foiled by the ingrained habit of presenting heads and drapery in the 'classical' tradition.

I note some constant characteristics: faces seen head-on, broad at the top, with widely spaced eyes seated deeply beneath sharply arched S-shaped eyebrows, straight and sometimes slightly hollow cheeks coming to a point in the strong chin. The nose, with a broad root and vigorous nostrils, merges into the brow without any indentation and is sometimes accentuated by a horizontal furrow in the middle of the forehead. The lips are generously proportioned and sometimes parted. Overall there is a masklike effect to the faces.

Short and rather effeminate fingers radiate fan-like from widebacked hands. The feet, lacking arches, seem too weak for the powerful and muscular figures. The draughtsman was clearly intent upon giving a reliable account of costume and dress. Apart from turbans and strange head-gear, the drapery is straightforward, marked with oval, hook-like craters.

Unfortunately, this back door, so to speak, provided by the woodcuts is the only real access we have to Pieter Coeck; and when we avail ourselves of it, we must be willing and able to allow for the generalizing and blurring effect of execution in wood. We must further consider the fact that subject and trend coloured the style.

Fortunately, some drawings have been found that bear the master's signature and are compatible in style, which means that even the otherwise unreliable inscriptions gain value. These works are not in conflict with the Turkish woodcuts and their script-like freedom tells us more about the master's character. They include:

1. A young man engaged in a board game in the company of three women,

probably a *Prodigal Son*. Rotterdam, Boymans Museum. Signed *Petrus van Aelst* inv. & F. 1141 (Plate 85A).

2. *The Apostle Paul before Agrippa*. Albertina, Vienna, No. 53 in the catalogue edited by Benesch. Signed *Peter von Aelst* 1151.

3. A gold-weigher and his wife with an aged client. Albertina, Vienna, No. 50. Signed *Peter van Alst* 1161 (Plate 85C).

4. *The Hebrews Crossing the Red Sea*, a fragment. Albertina, Vienna, No. 51. Signed: ...oeck van Aelst 1171 (Plate 85B).

5. *Orpheus Playing the Fiddle*, a study showing the figure in three aspects. British Museum, London, illustrated in Popham, *Drawings of the Early Flemish School*, London 1920, No. 66. Signed *Peeter van Aelst* 1181 (Plate 85D).

6. *The Story of David*, five designs for tapestries⁶. British Museum, London, Nos. 3-7 in the *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists*, London 1932, pp. 22 f. 1191. On the verso of one of these sheets an inscription was discovered: *peeter Cooke van Alste*, together with a crescent moon and the numerals 1531 (?). The crescent moon was demonstrably an element in the master's arms. These drawings display the late style of van Orley and I should like to eliminate them from consideration here, even though they may have something significant to say, provided it can be shown that the two masters had a close connection or worked together.

Particularly illuminating is the St. Paul drawing (2), the reversed design for a tapestry that has been preserved. It leads us to the group of works in the monumental class, in which Pieter scored his highest achievements. The following three tapestry sequences go back to designs by Coeck:

1. The Story of St. Paul. The complete set of nine tapestries is in the National Museum and Residence, Munich, four are in Vienna (Plate 85E), five in Madrid, two in the Detroit Museum and one in Friedrichshof, Kronberg (201). In addition to the drawing in the Albertina, mentioned above, designs are preserved in the print collection at Munich (Plate 86A) (121) and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Plate 86B) (with a replica in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (123))⁷.

2. The Story of Joshua, complete in eight pieces (124). Illustrated in Baldass, *Ämtliche Ausgabe der Wiener Tapisserien*, Vol. 1, Pls. 31-38. Apparently done before 1539, since in that year Francis I acquired a sequence of eight Joshua tapestries from a Genoese merchant in Antwerp⁸.

A drawing in the Louvre, published by Wescher in *Belvedere*, Vol. 12, 1928, pp. 27 ff., seems not to have been used (125) (Plate 87A).

3. *The Seven Deadly Sins*. The seven tapestries complete in Vienna. Illustrated in Baldass, *loc. cit.*, Pls. 39-45. Madrid has six of the series and Mary of Hungary had the whole sequence in Binche castle, where they were described as early as 1549 (126)⁹. One of the corresponding drawings is in the Masson collection of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (127) (Plate 87C), another in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (128) (Plate 87B).

Treading once again in van Orley's footsteps, Pieter Coeck did designs for stained glass, small, clear tondi¹⁰ of the kind by which Dirk Vellert distinguished himself, as well as large church windows. The St. Nicholas Chapel of the Cathedral in Antwerp once had a window documented as having been designed by

6. One of the tapestries is in the Ffoulke collection, Washington.

7. Cf. Th. Muchall-Viebrook, 'Ein neuer Gobelinentwurf von Pieter Coecke van Aelst', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, new series, Vol. 5, 1928, pp. 203 ff.; Steinbart, *Old Master Drawings*, Vol. 8, p. 34, Pls 38-40.

8. Cf. Goebel, *Wandteppiche, Die Niederlande*, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1923, p. 324.

9. Cf. Goebel, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

10. A number of glass panels (Plate 88) are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Pieter Coeck in 1537¹¹. The Albertina in Vienna has an impressive drawing that seems to be the design for this window 1291¹². This would mean that we have a drawing by the master that can be dated, and thus a kind of milestone in his career.

11. Cf. Hymans van Mander, Vol. 1, p. 190.

12. No. 52 in Benesch's catalogue.

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The three tall panes show a single church interior constructed in a correct and elegant style by this disciple of Vitruvius. The church holds an agitated congregation, amazed at what is taking place. In the central panel a youthful saint is being crowned bishop by two bishops. The scene fits the legend of St. Nicholas who is said to have been elected bishop of Myra quite unexpectedly, because a heavenly voice had ordained that the man first to enter the church should be chosen. St. Nicholas was indeed the first one. The designer-draughtsman, sure of himself, organized his crowd and drew the figures with explanatory legends and directions.

This window design accords well with the Turkish woodcuts, which were certainly conceived around 1533—so much so that I need only refer to the characteristics already emphasized. The tapestry and the drawings that belong to it, however, do display rather greater turbulence.

Having achieved a more than adequate idea of Coeck's creative approach, we fall back upon our proper commitment and embark on a search for panel paintings. Alas, we are promptly caught in an *embarras de richesse*, quantitative rather than qualitative, however.

The first painted composition associated with the name of Coeck is a *Last Supper*, which apparently achieved enduring renown in Antwerp. H. Goltzius made an engraving of it, and Pieter's name as 'inventor' is written by hand on one of the prints¹³. That alone would not mean very much, but the types and postures of the composition are certainly not in conflict with the picture of Coeck's work which we have gained.

13. In the Dutuit collection, Petit Palais, Paris.

Such specimens of this *Last Supper* as have become known to me are nearly all dated—Belvoir Castle, Duke of Rutland, 1527; private ownership, Poznan, and archiepiscopal museum, Kremsier, 1528; Sir. H. Cook collection, Richmond, 1531; Liège museum, 1530; Brussels museum, 1531 (151, Plate 80); Amsterdam art market, 153(?) ; private ownership, Mainz, 1532; Lucerne art market, 1533; Count Stroganoff collection, Rome, 1538; New York art market, 1539; Ferstel collection, Vienna, 1545; Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, 1550 (1551). Lastly, two others, undated, are in private hands, one in Oldenzaal, the other, in a sharply divergent style, in Elberfeld.

The dates, it will be seen, extend right down to the end of Pieter Coeck's career. The double dating of the Nuremberg specimen might be explained on the premise that it was a replica begun while the master was still alive, but finished only after his death and dated a second time. Coeck's widow was herself a painter and may well have continued to run his workshop. It is a curious fact, all the same, and a sign of a rather rigid way of doing things, that the master, during his entire Antwerp period, had the self-same composition executed again and again.

Not one of these specimens can be accounted a work of the master's own hand, not even the one dated 1527, which does tend to show how early his personal idiom took on solid form. The time should be noted, for we are reminded of

Joos van Cleve, who did a *Last Supper* in 1530, freely after Leonardo da Vinci¹⁴. We begin to understand that a master returning from Italy, seeking to rival Leonardo rather than to imitate him, could reap a considerable success with such an achievement, subsequently confirmed by the fact of Goltzius's engraving. I have in mind the idea itself, carefully leaving aside the execution. The interior in this picture, unadorned but for the large round reliefs, is solidly constructed. This and the relation of the figures to the picture area, the flow and drama of the postures, all realized an ideal of the time—and they did so at a surprisingly early date.

In the following I have tried to list, in as plausible a chronological sequence as possible, paintings that may be considered, more or less, works of the master's own hand:

1. A triptych from the Somzée collection, in the National Gallery, London, the centrepiece showing a *Virgin Enthroned*, the shutters a *St. Louis* and a holy bishop, with a *St. James the Greater* and a *St. Anthony of Padua* on the versos (145, Plate 76). The heads of the saints and the drapery are unmistakably in the style of Coeck, who would have to have done this delicate piece before 1527, especially since the elaborate ornamentation harks back to Dirk Vellert and does not yet show the slightest trace of the learned disciple of Vitruvius. Mention should be made in this connection of the Castricus woodcut, which should be regarded as a youthful work of Pieter, if it was indeed done about 1529.

2. A shuttered altarpiece with *Christ on the Cross* as the centrepiece, the wings carrying a *St. Paul* with the donor and a holy pope with the donatrix (143, Plate 74). I examined this major work on a number of occasions at the Sedelmeyer gallery in Paris. It was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1929 under the name of 'Coxie,' which may have been a garbled version of my verbal attribution to Coeck. Composition and style are rather different than in the *Last Supper* panels, much steadier and more detailed, and the whole triptych is reminiscent of Gossart, whose *Deposition*, now in Leningrad¹⁵, the master seems to have known. His mastery of anatomy in the bodies of the Thieves is impressive.

3. A *Vision of Ezekiel*, Christ with the attributes of the Evangelists. Pinakothek, Munich, presently in Schleissheim (157, Plate 83). Free after Raphael's panel in Florence. Carefully modelled in the style of Gossart and van Orley, anatomy and linens precisely as in 2. Probably done around 1530.

4. A triptych in the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle, showing a *Resurrection* (144, Plate 75). Wescher, in *Belvedere* (*loc. cit.*), put it in its proper context. The postures are somewhat similar to the Turkish woodcuts. Probably done around 1535. The heavy and dense brushwork of the pieces listed as 2, 3 and 4 is very different from the casual and cursory technique of the *Last Supper* panels.

5. The Darmstadt museum has a half-length Madonna of smooth and careful execution that is yet rather chilly in effect (154, Plate 82). A butterfly and a fly have been added with playful virtuosity. A column elaborated with much detail reveals the hand of the learned connoisseur of classical architecture.

6. A *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, in the Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, has figures that are related to those in the Karlsruhe altarpiece (155, Plate 81). It has been claimed for van Orley and Pieter Coeck in alternation, and it has been noted that

the landscape bears a connection with the background of a tapestry design by van Orley; but it may actually be by Tons¹⁶ who, according to Félibien, worked under van Orley as a landscape draughtsman.

The pictures listed in the following approach the style that was elaborated in the workshop:

7. *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Glasgow museum (150, Plate 79).
8. *St. Martin*. Private ownership, San Remo (156, Plate 82).
9. Two altarpiece shutters with saints and a donor family. Prado, Madrid (146, Plate 77).
10. *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker). Free after Raphael (Loggia) (148, Plate 78).
11. *St. Servatius as Patron of the Tapestry Weavers*. Private ownership, Vienna (157A, Plate 83).

This list could be readily extended, but only at the risk of admitting works so unfeelingly executed that I would no longer dare suggest Pieter Coeck as the responsible workshop head.

Even the finest of the works that have been assembled under his name, by composition, types and formal idiom, often conflict in brushwork and palette. Some are smooth, with an enamel-like finish, others are casual and cursory, still other cold and languid, reminiscent of van Hemessen. It is possible that the master employed several competent painters, each of whom worked from his designs in an individual manner.

Coeck's types are encountered in many devotional panels, which are not only crude in execution but indifferent in invention. We come upon compositions of the Master of 1518, translated into Coeck's formal idiom, modernized and repeated¹⁷.

Did Pieter Coeck by any chance lead a double life? Was he on the one hand painter to the emperor, trusted by the town officials, arbiter of taste in architecture and decoration, the resourceful idea man of the tapestry weavers, a leading creative personality? And on the other hand the head of a kind of painting factory, neglectful of quality? Perhaps we can divide up the output, separate one or more subsidiary workshops. Some panels broadly related to Coeck's style may have been actually done in his workshop, like the *Last Supper* pictures, e.g. the two *Passion* panels in the reserve of the Berlin museum (147, Plate 78) and the *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Basle (152, Plate 80) (Burckhardt-Bachofen bequest, with a replica in the Bonn Provinzialmuseum), while others may have been executed elsewhere. A complete listing of Coeck's works would scarcely enrich our view of his character and approach. At best it would exemplify the strength of his influence.

Let us lastly try to come closer to Pieter Coeck the portraitist. A panel has turned up in Swiss hands, a couple at half-length, the figures side by side, the man on the left with his right hand on a skull, the woman on the right, with folded hands (157B, Plate 84). The man with his broad, trimmed beard resembles Pieter Coeck himself, as depicted in the familiar series of engraved painters' portraits. A curious addition at upper middle is three children behind a kind of sill, almost certainly the offspring of the sitters. It seems quite likely that this does

16. Cf. A. Wauters, *Bernart van Orley*, p. 76: Il [van Orley] avoit sous lui un nommé Tons, grand paysagiste, qui a travaillé aux Chasse de l'empereur Maximilien et un autre des ses élèves Pieter Coecke... fort bon peintre et architecte.

17. Volume XI, p. 32f.

represent a self-portrait. Coeck's second wife did bear him precisely three children. The dress, especially the man's cocked hat, points to a time of origin around 1545, which would accord with the sitter's apparent age, if he were Coeck. And the unprecedentedly casual insertion of the children is scarcely explicable except on the assumption that this was a painter depicting himself with his family. The children seem to peer into the picture secretively, with curiosity, like sprites. If they had been the children of a patron, the painter would have almost certainly devoted greater care and prominence to them.

I do not know whether Coeck was ever a pupil of van Orley in the proper sense. Van Mander says so, but there is no documentation. Perhaps Coeck had a connection with Dirk Vellert and was drawn to van Orley as a model only through his relation to the Brussels tapestry weavers. In any event, he qualifies as the Brussels master's successor in the field of sumptuous and monumental decoration. Since he so visibly outstripped van Orley with his magnificent festive processions, massed and intertwined figures and vehement postures, it was easy to arrive at the conclusion that he must have been van Orley's disciple, even if this was not so. Coeck thrusts more boldly into space. His borders are more luxuriant. His tall and elegant figures, walking on narrow feet, with sinuous arms and legs, express exaltation and militant action as they race and hurl and sway. His horses are drawn with consummate mastery, especially when they are on parade, seemingly trained in dressage. A pungent yet fascinating fragrance seems to exude from these learned allegorical masquerades.

Coeck's forms, as expressed especially in his drapery, hair and curling smoke, aspire to the lightning-fast darting movement of lizards and serpents. Whatever learned principles he may have embraced, he seems to have foresworn the straight line everywhere save in architecture. Everywhere there are explicit curlicues and overlapping curves. Coeck the draughtsman becomes almost monotonous in his endeavour to avoid monotony, especially since the restlessness that jerks through all the limbs is not at all rooted in the narrative, on the contrary, often seems like an almost inebriate hypermania.

The glittering concept of 'manner' takes on a coloration different from what I described in my Introduction to Volume XI. It has become a universal quality, graduating from mere provincial grotesquerie. We find similarly chill and laboured forms, soulless in their arrested agitation, in contemporary Italians—Parmegianino, Primaticcio, Niccolò dell'Abbate. Not that we need assume a direct relation between Parmegianino and Coeck. It is sufficient that on both sides the masters stood in the same relation to classical art—in their obsession with innovation, they deliberately and frantically sought to enhance it, modify it, vanquish it. The same models, here as there, the same principles and trends, were bound to produce similar results. It was Raphael's Loggie in the Vatican, like a pictorial textbook, that dominated the Netherlanders as it did the Italians.

Marinus van Reymerswaele

40

In the course of the 16th century, the output of painting in Antwerp fell victim to specialization. As the market expanded, there were painters who were determined to come out on top in the competitive game; and they chose to that end to husband and thus enhance their resources by limiting themselves to a circumscribed field, in which they worked to the expectations of their clientele. This specialization extended to subjects and themes, and whole new categories of painting came into being. A gulf widened between masters who sacrificed traditional solid craftsmanship to ill-digested ideals of Southern monumentality and those who endeavoured to combine the standards imported from abroad with their own observation of their home environment. A few painters seem to have protested vocally against this sell-out of their native heritage, but in the process they themselves tended to lapse into eccentricity and absurdity.

The first of the virtuosi harking back to the past, Marinus van Reymerswaele, was apprenticed in 1509 to the *ghelaesmakere* Symon (van Dale). He was then called *Moryn Claessone, Zeelander*, but has been widely and probably rightly identified as van Mander's *Marinus van Romerwael*. His father was presumably *Claes van Ziericsee*, who appears in 1475 on the masters' rolls. Marinus seems to have left the Schelde port after absolving his apprenticeship, for he did not make master in Antwerp. We find a much later trace of him in Middelburg, where he was sentenced to banishment in 1566 for having participated in the iconoclastic excesses. Just when he died is not known. The dates on his paintings range from 1521 to 1542. At some point he settled in his ancestral region. Van Mander tells us that many of his works were on view in Zeeland¹. The only theme the biographer mentioned, a receiver of customs in his office, was in the Wijntgis house in Middelburg. Judging from such Antwerp inventories as have been published, his name does not turn up there. Thus, although Antwerp must be regarded as his spiritual home, he seems to have shut himself away in the provinces, which may explain his uncompromising eccentricity.

He was probably born around 1495 and began working on his own between 1515 and 1520. The earliest date on a signed painting of his, 1521, has not gone unchallenged. Yet this *St. Jerome* in the Prado, Madrid, a composition often repeated by the master or at least in his studio, does undubitably display the numerals 1521 (162, Plate 92).

W. Cohen² and J. Held³ have both compared this *Jerome* with one in the Berlin museum, reaching the conclusion that the undated and unsigned Berlin picture (163, Plate 93) must have been done earlier than the one in Madrid. But this Berlin panel, as has been often remarked, is derived from Dürer's *St. Jerome*, now preserved in Lisbon, which was done in Antwerp. The Berlin panel, therefore, must have been done after 1521. Cohen extricated himself from this dilemma, by disputing that it was indeed derived from Dürer, Held by declaring that the date on the Madrid panel was spurious.

1. German ed., Vol. 2, p. 66.

2. *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, Vol. 2, p. 133.

3. *Dürers Wirkung auf die Niederländische Kunst*, The Hague, 1931, p. 83.

Some relevance attaches to the resolution of this conflict. If Cohen is right, then Dürer, at the time he conceived his *St. Jerome*, may have been closely following a Netherlandish model—if not actually the Berlin painting by Marinus, then at least another, now lost, which could also have served the master of Reymerswaele as a model.

I do not believe this to be so, but rather share Held's view that Dürer worked on his own and that Marinus knew his composition, as did other imitators in Antwerp, and accepted the German's pictorial idea in some measure. But I do not accept Held's conclusion that the date on the Madrid painting thereby loses its credibility. If the dated picture does display the master's style with greater clarity, this may be because the one in Berlin, although done a bit later, was influenced to a greater extent by Dürer and thus does not bear the stamp of Marinus to the same degree. Obscuring layers of varnish, moreover, create an unwonted effect of chiaroscuro.

If the date on the Madrid panel is valid and genuine, Marinus had already developed his style and formal idiom by 1521, i.e. nine years before Quentin's death, and his later works display no substantial changes.

Another *St. Jerome* by his hand has recently turned up, apparently bearing the date of 1528 and confirming that the master established an identity for himself at a relatively early stage (165, Plate 93). Perhaps the Dürer experience helped him. We have quite a number of *St. Jeromes* by Marinus's hand (162-166, Plates 92, 93)—I can distinguish five different compositions, several of them with replicas—and their study conveys a great deal about his technique and his approach, particularly since we have Dürer's Lisbon panel as a standard. It is most instructive to observe how the Netherlander comes to grips with the German.

Around 1520, *St. Jerome* was, so to speak, the patron saint of the landscape, genre and still life painters of Antwerp. It was no accident that Dürer painted the saint in Antwerp, giving him quite a new aspect, choosing the half-length format to enhance the expression of the near-lifesize head. Earlier, in his woodcut of 1511 and his engraving of 1514, he had been able to reconcile the gift of a creative intellect with the benison of unquestioning devoutness. But in the meantime Luther's appeal had reached him, and theological controversy had begun to invade the tranquillity of scholarly humanism. The saint was no longer a spry and serene scholar, but an old man, interrupting his reading and writing to regard a human skull and ponder solemnly the vanity of this earth, a seeker after truth, resting his tired head on his hand after sleepless nights. If Erasmus stood godfather to the woodcut and engraving, it was Luther who had now inspired the painting.

We hear of secret conventicles, of fanatical predicants, of attacks upon orthodoxy. The Prado picture must have had a strong appeal to its contemporaries, else it would not have been so often copied and repeated. In it Marinus showed an emaciated zealot, skewering the congregation with his glance.

Actually the effect totters on the edge of mockery of the ascetic's frenetic preachment. We have but that single biographical fact suggesting that Marinus had his head turned by the new teachings and, although himself a painter, was said to have taken part in the image-smashing excesses of the fanatical iconoclasts.

What we know of Marinus's *œuvre* suggests that he limited himself to a handful

of themes and stuck to his specialty with uncompromising tenacity. We know two Madonnas by him (160, Plate 90; 161, Plate 91), and he painted a *Summoning of St. Matthew* (158, Plate 89; 159, Plate 90), but most frequently, apart from his St. Jeromes, he depicted publicans, merchants and money-lenders, pursuing their callings in their counting-houses. They are invariably shown at half-length, almost lifesize, with the emphasis upon the expression of personality in the features (167-170, Plates 95, 96). His point of departure was Quentin Massys, in whose studio these bureau scenes, so zealously cultivated by Marinus, really originated. There is something of a mystery of why and where these pictures were hung. Of course the incipient bourgeois-capitalist community may have been fond of papering its offices with genre scenes of its working life. But Marinus, at least to our mind, tended to pillory avarice and money-grubbing, bureaucratic narrow-mindedness and the inexorable exigencies of counting and weighing. The heart-warming appeal of the genre painter was not for him, and his shrewish and acerb scenes could have scarcely struck a responsive chord in any merchant client. Another element casts doubt on any assumption that he painted genre pictures in the proper sense and without ulterior motive. His dress is often curiously old-fashioned, especially his tasselled headgear, removing the scenes from familiar proximity to some indeterminate time in the past. Perhaps Marinus was poking fun at the hated professions of the loan-shark and the tax collector.

There are two picture types that Marinus made his own and permeated with his spirit—if, indeed, he did not actually create them: a merchant with his wife (170, Plate 96); and a merchant—or possibly a tax collector—with his assistant (167, Plate 95; 168, Plate 94)⁴. There are several replicas of equal merit of the horizontal-format husband-and-wife theme harking back to Quentin's panel in the Louvre. The vertical-format painting of the two men cheek by jowl has been copied often. The original, in the National Gallery, London, departs markedly from the scheme prevailing in many imitations.

Money is counted and weighed, receipts are entered. The writing on the bills and receipts is reproduced painstakingly, as is the relief on the coins, and this alone is already symbolic of the avarice of the sitters. The master apparently felt that such obsession with secular affairs was fatuous if not sinful and thus wished to exhort the beholder with his exaggerated verisimilitude.

We can almost see the still life genre germinate in Marinus's meticulously furnished studies and offices—indeed, a particular sub-genre, *All Is Vanity*—just as we can see another sub-genre, the fruit still life, crop up in Pieter Aertsen's marketplace pictures.

Crowded in Gothic compression, we behold disorderly heaps of paper, parchment and writing materials, all depicted with a painstaking expertise that is the very opposite of restful. An air of violence infects these dead and rustling objects. The vellum, in particular, seems to wrinkle and balk, imperiously intruding into the overall mood.

The brushwork in the 'authentic' paintings is clean and sophisticated, the drawing precise. Nothing is blurred or veiled or overlooked—it is all in the foremost layer. Line speaks more eloquently than colour area, insuring three-dimensional realism with its overlaps and perspective shifts and leaving its indelible

4. In the Lampognano home in Milan the Anonimo Morelli saw a small picture by 'Jan van Eyck' (or 'Memlinc') with half-length figures of a manager settling accounts with his agent (*fattor*). This may be the source of the genre.

mark on the character heads with their network of wrinkles, their features furrowed with age, vice or intellectual effort. The lighting is such as to divide up the picture area with a firmly wrought reticulation.

Marinus reaches right inside the body with the eyes of an anatomist, baring bones, sinews and swelling veins. Even the chubby and bulging body of an infant he views with scientific detachment. His Christ child resembles neither Massys's lean and agile boy nor van Hemessen's bouncing baby. In form and demeanour he is simply a helpless new-born infant, eliciting compassion in his mammalian immaturity.

The men at their writing and calculating are almost grotesque with their abnormal skull configuration and the grimacing expressions that characterize them as cunning and full of spite. It was Quentin Massys who had already used beauty and caricature to characterize good and evil, and his successors virtually wallowed in facial distortion, which may well be called a childhood affliction of genre painting. Marinus outstripped his rivals in solemnity, consistency and intensity.

We know very well that Dürer, through his prints, exerted a wide-spread if not profound effect on Netherlandish painting⁵. He was plagiarized right and left, the wealth of his resourcefulness profiting his imitators. Marinus was just about the only one among his fellow countrymen to partake of the true spark and spirit of Dürer. And he paid devoted homage to the German, in that the tome that lies open before his Jeromes always carries a picture of the *Last Judgment*, copied after Dürer's woodcut.

5. Cf. the searching study of this subject by J. Held, *loc. cit.*

Jan van Hemessen and the Brunswick Monogrammatist

None has even endeavoured to solve the mysteries contained in the documents and writings about Jan Sanders. This master seems to have resided in Antwerp from 1519 to 1550 without any recorded breaks. He came from the village of Hemixen, near Antwerp, as his name indicates. Van Mander, however, speaks of him as a citizen of Haarlem, although there is not a trace of him in the Haarlem archives.

Hendrick van Cleve registered a *Jan Sanders* as an apprentice in Antwerp in 1519; but by 1524 Jan was himself already registering an apprentice, hence must then have achieved master's status, although no entry has been found in the lists. Unless we assume that this must have been an oversight, we must look for him under some name we do not recognize. The first name Jan does indeed attach to two painters who qualified as masters in 1523 and 1524—we may eliminate earlier years, since our man was apprenticed only in 1519. A *Jan de Meyere* and a *Jan Voet* appear in the register for 1523. The names then vanish, never to recur. Sanders, of course, may have meant 'son of Alexander', while Hemessen simply identified the place whence he came, so he may have used a third surname, possibly suggestive of his family, for purposes of entry into the guild register. It seems plausible to hypothesize that Jan Sanders was called de Meyere or Jan Voet and qualified as a master painter in Antwerp in 1523.

In any event, since Jan Sanders was a master by 1524, he must have been of rather mature years when he became an apprentice only five years earlier, and his birth must have fallen into the very earliest years of the 16th century at the latest. He married a Barbara de Fevere before 1528, when a daughter, Katharina, was born to him. She became a painter herself, and a self-portrait of 1548 states that she was then 20 years old.

Jan van Hemessen registered apprentices in Antwerp in 1525, 1535 and 1537. In 1548 he was elected dean of the guild. In 1550 he sold a house in Antwerp, and it has been conjectured that this meant that he then moved to Haarlem¹. The reason for assuming such a move was to bear out van Mander, but the thing is by no means proven.

1. Van den Branden,
Geschiedenis... p. 102.

The earliest signed and dated picture, a *St. Jerome* at half-length on the Vienna art market, goes back to the year 1534 (210, Plate 114). The latest date, 1556, appears on a *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*, in the Nancy museum (183, Plate 102). It is not known in what year the master died.

We come to know about his mature style from a considerable number of pictures that are either signed or at least widely acknowledged to be by him. Done between 1534 and 1556, they are bold pictures with lifesize figures.

As an instructive example, let us regard the panel in the Brussels museum, a *Prodigal Son*, shown in loose company (184, Plate 103). It is signed with the full name and dated 1536. The party is assembled around a dining-table in an open hall of classical architecture. It is a dubious company indeed, into which the Prodigal Son has blundered—three courtesans, a procuress, a drunkard, a dice

gambler and a bagpipe player. Four large figures to the fore are visible to the knees, three are behind the table and the musician is still farther back. Although the scale is graduated, it is not quite clear how the figures are related to the space. There is a certain stylistic discrepancy between the buildings in their southern sunlight and the heavily shadowed guests, between the coarse company and the palatial architecture. The brushwork is smooth and detailed, clashing with the obtrusively monumental format and scale, while the whole conception is of genre-like triviality. The sprawling party seems somehow out of place, a dim cellar would seem more appropriate. The figures seem to have been actually depicted under sharp light falling through small windows high up into the gloom of a closed and confining chamber.

There are similarly disquieting pretensions and discrepancies in pictures by van Reymerwaele; yet Jan Sanders with his strapping and almost upholstered figures is markedly different from Marinus with his knife-sharp and graven lines. Animal instinct on the one side, hyperintellectualism on the other. What the two have in common, however, is painstaking fidelity to tradition, a certain myopia and sharpness of focus, Netherlandish virtues displayed with pharisaic compulsiveness.

Jan Sanders felt himself very much of a modern painter in 1536. Italian architecture and design was his in all its forms, as it was Marinus's, and he was intent upon achieving heroic posture, in the spirit of the High Renaissance. His sturdy and muscular bodies thrust to and fro in complex motion. The courtesan in the middle turns her head towards the Prodigal Son in casual familiarity, grasping with one hand at his hair, while with the other she lifts a glass of wine. The other complaisant girl grasps the guest's head from behind. The arms cross.

The expressions of the old crone and the bald-headed ne'er-do-well, blissfully smirking into the wine ewer, border on grimace. Both the Prodigal Son and the girls partake of the general type which the master imparts also to his saints and Virgins. One of these beauties is reminiscent of Quentin's ideal, while the other two belong rather to the robust strain Sanders favoured—full-blooded, dark-haired, the face seen from just below, wide and foreshortened. Cheeks and throat are strongly modelled. The locks of hair, brittle and frizzled, are made obtrusively tangible.

In the middleground and outside in the distance are small figures, subsidiary scenes, relating the story of the Prodigal Son. The scale has at least six gradations. Body image changes with recession. The figures in the distance seem freer, slenderer, more agile than those in the foreground.

As noteworthy characteristics I would mention the claw-like contracted fingers with their circular nails and the heavy woollen sleeves bulging in parallel ring- and wheel-shaped folds about the arms. Shape and texture of the dining utensils, reminiscent of still life, are elaborated with striking realism.

The half-length *St. Jerome*, signed and dated 1534, particularly challenges comparison with Marinus, who was never able to shake off this theme. The torse on the right, the crucifix on the left, the saint in between, looking up from the book, turning towards the cross while lifting his folded and work-worn hands towards the other side. The fully rounded head with its flowing beard is massive in effect, a spheroid in space.

A powerful emotional drive stirs within the to and fro of this shackled posture within its confining frame; but there is nothing here of the confessional school-masterliness Marinus imparted to his saint. There are trees and houses in the landscape background, fussy and detailed, and a single steep rocky scarp.

We are returned again to the 'loose company' milieu in a painting in the Karlsruhe museum, clearly done by van Hemessen, even though it lacks his signature (218, Plate 117). The procuress, lidded drinking vessel in hand, leers in cynical and exploitative pleasure. She is drawn on the same model as the plump crone in the Brussels picture. Next to her a courtesan is caught in the act of enticing a client who, seemingly elderly and respectable, is resisting temptation. He could scarcely be the Prodigal Son—but then, who else could he be? Is this nothing more than a genre piece? The man's dress militates against such a conclusion—his odd, old-fashioned head-gear, suggesting a scene laid in the past.

Both on the right and the left, in the background, are groups of figures on a smaller scale. On the right is a young man with three women in a cozy domestic scene. On the other side are three girls by an open door, seemingly inviting three men. At a slant by the entrance hangs a large birdcage as a tempting signboard. We find a similar cage in the Berlin painting by the so-called Brunswick Monogrammatist, which depicts a brothel.

The naïve representation of questionable goings-on was a specialty of the Monogrammatist, and since some suggestive scenes are discernible in the Karlsruhe picture, the seed was sown of identifying the Monogrammatist as Jan Sanders. Another explanation has it that two masters may have worked on this picture in common—but that seems little more than a flimsy invention. If the Monogrammatist really did the small figures in the Karlsruhe painting, then he must have done the large ones as well and is none other than Jan Sanders.

We shall look more closely into this controversial identification, but first we must round out our picture of van Hemessen's character.

Curiously enough, his *chef d'œuvre*, the large altarpiece in the church of St. James in Antwerp, has been little noted (175, Plate 99). Its wings hold a donor family with many children, and here the master may be seen in his rôle of portraitist. The donor, Adriaen Rokox, is shown kneeling on the left with three sons, his wife on the right with ten daughters. He died in 1540 at the age of 80, and his sons were born in 1510, 1514 and 1525. Insofar as one may judge the ages of the sons from their portraits, the altarpiece must have been done around 1535². The *Last Judgment* that occupies the centrepiece is quite characteristic of Jan Sanders, in that relatively few nude figures in vehement action, large in proportion to the picture area, are disposed about the scene in such a way as to draw all attention. The painter's aspirations seem to have been directed exclusively towards the human body, the 'life study', inspired by the academic fervour which Gossart had unleashed in the North.

Several Madonnas and Holy Families have been added to the master's œuvre with relative ease. Let the *Virgin and Child* in the Stockholm museum, fully signed and dated 1544, serve as an exemplar (205, Plate 111). It shows the Virgin at full length, rearing up in a pyramid shape, legs widely parted beneath a heavy skirt that seems lined, seated against a dark arbour of foliage hung with grapes. The

2. These dates are taken from A. J. Wauters, *Revue de l'Art Flamand et Hollandais*, 1907, p. 8. The altarpiece is there rather unfortunately ascribed to a *Josse van Cleve the Younger*.

mother is compelled to curve her fleshy hand to hold the strapping boy who is seated frontally on her lap, his legs crossed and his head turned sideways towards the maternal breast. The whole composition is in an over ripe style, brimming with vitality. Local colour is sacrificed to modelling in depth.

A glance at the master's creation during his late phase—there is no dearth of signatures and dates—shows us that Sanders pursued his course undeviatingly, setting his defiant and somewhat limited will against the changes in contemporary taste.

The latest work known, a *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*, dated 1556 and in the museum at Nancy, is the most tumultuous (183, Plate 102). Drawing and brushwork have scarcely forfeited any part of their thorough-going expertise, but the painter's resources are devoted to the sole end of creating a tour de force. Bodies and limbs are heaped and intertwined to excess in an unsurpassable turmoil that rises to the level of shrillness. One feels that one has completely lost one's way. This penchant for confusion and tumult began to stir more than once in Netherlandish art, e.g. in van Orley's *Job Altarpiece*, around 1525; but in the case of that Brussels master this kicking over the traces was stemmed by academic enlightenment. Van Hemessen's generation had a greater share of Classicist culture at its disposal. Time and again the Flemish propensity for hullabaloo and rowdiness came into conflict with the standards of the South; yet in these very excesses we sense a power that pointed to the future, as in van Hemessen's chiaroscuro that seems to anticipate Caravaggio. Hence this turns out not to have been a dead end.

Preliminary stages of the Mannerism that was fully developed in van Hemessen by 1534 have been found, pictures Jan did during the first decade of his Antwerp career. They include a *Woman Gold-Weigher* in the Berlin museum (221, Plate 119), a *Woman Playing the Clavichord* in the Worcester museum, U.S.A. (220, Plate 118), and a half-length Madonna on the Leipzig art market (202, Plate 110).

The Berlin panel shows a young woman at half-length, about half-lifesize, genre-like in conception, belonging to a pictorial type that was popular in the Netherlands around 1530, being cultivated most zealously by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The characteristic van Hemessen qualities emerge clearly, though still in embryo. The young woman moves easily in the picture area, enhancing the illusion of space and depth. Her foreshortened forearm partly covers the upper arm. Her small curved and rounded hand holds the jeweller's scale with a delicacy that ill befits the stubby fingers.

The luscious, healthy face with its wide cheeks and curved contours carries dark eyes widely separated by a fleshy nose. They glance obliquely and with naïve gravity at the beholder rather than at the scale. Later on Sanders was to use these divergent directions for obtrusive dramatic effect, but here it merely makes for an appealing vivacity. Even then he was incessantly concerned with cylindrical form, here shown in the sleeves consisting of parallel armlets.

The flesh parts, as though of tanned ivory, are heavily shadowed. The woodpanelling, the fur and the dress form a rather dim harmonious complex of brownish and reddish tints. In the manner peculiar to this master, the hair is shown frizzled and unruly.

The woman shown playing a table-top clavichord, in the Worcester museum, agrees in every way with the gold-weighter, although certainly not a pendant. The dimensions differ. This one shares the appealing sincerity which the master forfeited later on, as he grew more practised and self-assertive.

The Virgin shown to the knees in the Leipzig picture follows closely after her genre-like twin sisters and must have been done about the same time—between 1525 and 1530. The flesh parts of the mother and her strapping, over fed child stand out luminously against the dark foliage of a tree overgrown with a grapevine from which dangle two clusters of light grapes. Van Hemessen had a deep-rooted fondness for these small juice-filled berries.

Two other pictures are less firmly tied to these three youthful works, displaying the master's qualities with less purity and slightly disguised, so to speak. They are a *Lamentation* in the Mainz museum (194, Plate 108) and a full-length *Virgin and Child*, which I saw years ago on the Paris art market (201).

The Mainz panel shows an athletic Christ, overweighted with anatomical detail, awkwardly resisting movement. The whole composition is rather sparse, dry and poorly articulated, though many of its aspects testify in favour of van Hemessen's authorship—like the crossed limbs, the feminine type, the shape of the hand and the drapery folds. A single vertical rock rears up in the background, not unlike the *St. Jerome* panel of 1534.

The full-length Virgin (which I have not seen in some years) is mature in effect and can scarcely have been done much earlier than 1534. The master's wonted style shows in the shape and posture of the powerful child and the mother's hands, one of which is rounded and curved inwards, while the other is splayed fan-like. The Virgin's head, on the other hand, is unfamiliar, reminiscent of Quentin Massys, nor does the over rich fussy landscape with its clusters of white clouds conform—it is set off harshly and without transition against the large figure of the Virgin. Indeed, the landscape might just as well have been added by another painter, but even such an assumption does not remove all doubt in respect of van Hemessen's authorship.

We are tempted to look to the earlier paintings for clues to the master's origins and training. He was apprenticed to Hendrick van Cleve, who qualified as a master as early as 1489 and was of advanced age when Jan entered his workshop in 1519. We know nothing about this teacher. Gossart seems to have exerted a stronger influence on van Hemessen's training than Quentin Massys; and the relationship with Vermeyen, a member of his own generation, is conspicuous in van Hemessen's female types and his pleasure in muscular strength; but as to who was the giver and who the receiver, that is a moot question.

Van Hemessen was intent upon dazzling the viewer with his realistic three-dimensionality of heads and bodies. His knowledge of form, even on a large scale, never deserted him. On the other hand, he liked to soften his chiaroscuro transitions, leaving his robust and massive figures as though veiled in a brownish fog. But then even Joos van Cleve had advanced far in the direction of *sfumato* towards the end of his career, between 1535 and 1540, probably under the influence of Leonardo.

The Brunswick museum has a picture titled by Riegel as *The Feeding of the Poor*,

after the Parable of the great Last Supper (233, Plate 125). I cling to this title, since I don't really know what the scene depicts. I cannot very well call it a *Feeding of the Five Thousand*, for there are some 200 men and women, including poor and crippled, who are being served at long tables before a castle-like structure. The panel is signed with a group of juxtaposed and interlinked initials, apparently those of the painter. The only parts that are perfectly plain are a *J*, an *S*, an *M* and a *v*—the rest is all doubtful. A cross-bar extends at right angles from the left upright of the *M* but does not reach all the way to the right upright. Hence, unless one assumes that half of it has vanished, it cannot signify an *H*. Some have fancied they can also see an *A* and an *L*.

Hymans found a similar monogram on a *Christ Carrying the Cross*³. This time the *H* in the *M* is complete, while the *S* and the *v* are missing—in other words, *JHM*. Unfortunately no certain conclusions can be drawn from the second monogram, because the picture is missing and therefore cannot be examined to establish whether it was done by the same hand as the one in Brunswick; but since this type of signature was certainly uncommon in 1540, it is likely that both signatures stand for one and the same name.

What is so fascinating about the Brunswick Monogrammatist is that he is a painter of marked peculiarity, a kind of precursor of Pieter Bruegel. He did several other panels with small figures—three brothel scenes (235–237, Plates 126, 127), as well as some Biblical scenes like a *Christ Shown to the People* in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (229, Plate 122), two versions of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in Basle (232, Plate 125) and the Louvre (230, Plate 124), and a *Christ Entering Jerusalem* in Stuttgart (228, Plate 123). These virtually comprise his œuvre in the narrower sense.

This master was fond of not very tall figures in varied and languid postures, distinguished by a frugal agility, often in contrapposto, grasping to and fro. His palette was light, his brushwork reminiscent of water colour, both his interior and exterior arrangements skilful, open and of evenhanded rhythm.

It was O. Eisenmann, in his time next to L. Scheibler the outstanding connoisseur of early Netherlandish painting, who proposed that the Monogrammatist might be none other than Jan Sanders⁴. The signature fits in with this notion, since the *J* may be taken to mean *Jan*, the *S* *Sanders* and the *v* *van*, while the indispensable *H* may be interpolated with the help of the second monogram. The conjecture mentioned before, namely that van Hemessen was named *de Meyere*, would explain the *M* as well.

Another solution to the mystery of the initials is favoured by G. Glück and has found much support⁵. According to this theory, the Monogrammatist is *Jan van Amstel*, of whom we know no more than van Mander and certain Antwerp documents tell us. He was born in Amsterdam—van Mander actually says Antwerp—and qualified in 1528 as a master in the Schelde port under the name of *Jan van Anestelle*. In 1535 he became a *burger* as *Jan van Amstel*, *Aertssone*, *van Amsterdamme*. He died soon afterwards⁶.

The Brunswick monogram does not actually fit in with this name, since the *A*, which one would expect certainly to show, is not at all distinct. It is, of course, conceivable that Jan van Amstel had a family or surname that would explain the

3. Carel van Mander, *Le Livre des Peintres*. Trad., notes et commentaires par Henri Hymans, Paris, 1884–1885, Vol. I, p. 77.

4. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 7, 1884, p. 209.

5. *Aus Drei Jahrhunderten Europäischer Malerei*, Vol. I, pp. 145 ff.

6. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis...* p. 287.

initials *S* and *M*. In my view, however, van Mander's report scarcely provides any argument in favour of identifying van Amstel as the Monogrammatist, and I therefore see little reason to proceed on this assumption.

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Jan van Amstel is renowned as a landscape painter and nothing else. The term is here used as a professional tag, relating to a pictorial specialty—it applies to painters like Patenier, Herry met de Bles, Lucas Gassel, Matthias Cock. The Monogrammatist, on his part, certainly was not a landscape painter. His aspirations and skills were devoted solely to the wealth of movement of which the human body is capable. Van Mander does offer one specific observation about van Amstel, namely that he allowed his painting ground to shine through thin pigment layers, as did Bruegel, who followed him in this, but this does not help us very much.

Upon stylistic analysis, the gulf between the work of van Hemessen and the Monogrammatist does seem to be rather deep. Graefe, in a monograph, strongly supported Eisenmann's proposed identification and thought that the differences might be explained by lapses in time⁷. The works of the Monogrammatist would thus be youthful works by van Hemessen, done between 1524 and 1534.

7. *Jan Sanders...* Leipzig, 1909.

When we try to date the painting in Brunswick, the three brothel scenes and whatever else may be properly drawn into this circle, quite independently of the question of authorship, we fetch up at a time of about 1540. One decisive element in favour of that period is the dress, especially the men's round cap.

To buttress the identity of the Monogrammatist and Jan Sanders, one should have to demonstrate that the evident stylistic difference may be explained adequately and exclusively by format and scale and the visual approach based on those two parameters.

Any object or figure gives rise to an optical impression that depends on the viewer's position. At a distance, objects contract and show contours or profiles that are flat and relatively colourless, while close up they expand into parts, attain volume and local colour. There are psychological differences in the way an observer responds to phenomena that reach over to him from a distance and those that importune him from close up. In the former case there is likely to be a carefree play of the imagination, while in the latter a certain tension is engendered, a laborious struggle with trees that do not allow the wood to be seen.

These differences, of course, find different expression, according to time, ethnic identity and individual disposition. Distant vision does not invariably mean a small scale. The Italians embraced it on a large scale, and precisely this became the basis for their monumental approach.

As for the Netherlands, they were by nature near-sighted. A Jan Sanders, a Marinus resorted to large format in order to celebrate the triumph of their acuity. These painters harboured the vain ambition to be as grand as Michelangelo, while retaining the minute detail of Jan van Eyck.

Beginning in the 16th century, the Netherlands took an ever more profound interest in the rôle of the contrast between distant and close vision in creating the illusion of space, making this contrast more and more subservient to their pictures as a whole. It was especially Dutch painters like Engelbrechtsen and the Master of Delft who enlivened their backgrounds with pale and weightless figures, imparting to these backgrounds nuances in tint, tone and figure volume.

In van Hemessen's large-figure pictures the foreshortening of the figures towards the back is successfully executed, as is the gradation in tone. If we can imagine that this painter ever did paintings with small figures, we should expect that he would have to readjust his whole approach, ridding himself of the painstaking wealth of detail attaching to his lifesize figures. If we made a real effort to envisage small-format pictures from his brush, we might arrive at least somewhere in the vicinity of the Brunswick Monogrammatist.

I myself have a small panel showing Christ in conversation with a seated woman and several men, which connoisseurs have always taken to be a work of the Monogrammatist (227, Plate 122). On looking closely one becomes aware that this is a fragment, a scene originally part of the background of a larger panel. In the right margin some sharply curled hairs from a lifesize figure are discernible. In our mind's eye we inevitably conclude that the figure must have been typical of van Hemessen.

An Antwerp inventory dating back to 1663 lists *een bordeeljen, cyppe naer Hemsen*⁸. A small brothel scene, in other words, is described as a copy after Jan van Hemessen. Since our known store of pictures by the Monogrammatist includes such scenes, we have another argument in favour of the old theory.

Van Mander describes but a single panel by van Hemessen, *Christ on the Way to Jerusalem with Many Apostles*. Surely this was a panel with smallish full-length figures, the kind of composition, in other words, we would expect of the Monogrammatist rather than of van Hemessen.

The *Feeding* in Brunswick is composed with mature artistry. There are many figures, the largest of which occupy but one-sixth of the picture height, some of them herded together in groups, others scattered in open formation, all skilfully inserted into the countryside and gradually receding into the distance. Scarcely anyone before Pieter Bruegel was capable of such control over masses of uniform elements and such skill in varying the scene. Pieter Aertsen, who tried something like it around 1550, failed rather dismally. His work remained stiff and monotonous, he never mastered the art of foreshortening and he could never successfully integrate his people with the landscape. Among the hundreds of figures in the Brunswick picture scarcely two are to be found moving in the same way. It is true, however—and here we note how wide a gulf separates the Monogrammatist from Pieter Bruegel—that the former made his intentions obvious. He spread out his wares ostentatiously, as though on a sample card, wishing to show methodically the full scope of combinations that could be achieved by twisting, bending and inclining his bodies. His figures are short rather than tall, the men dressed for the most part in closely fitting clothes, as though ready for a foot race or a high jump. Their heads are round. The foreshortenings are convincing here. On this small scale there is no room, so to speak, for error, harshness or unseemliness.

In the Berlin *bordeeljen*, as in the similar ones in Frankfurt and Vienna, in the collection of Count Lanckoronski, the figures are a bit larger than in the Brunswick *Feeding*, offering us additional information on how the types came to be. The soldiers are sturdy men, who show off their strength, the courtesans are lazy and casually affectionate. What is felt to be coarse, disagreeable and unbecoming close up looks innocent, natural and merry at a distance. The exchange of tender

8. J. Denucé, *De Konstkamers van Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1932, p. 238.

touchings, the intertwining of bodies, the serene professional complaisance—all these are expressed with good-natured objectivity.

A male guest at centre quietly watches a squabble among the women that is taking place in a lobby. He stands bent forward with legs crossed, one raised arm resting against a wall, while the other is behind his back.

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I tend to believe that Jan Sanders, besides doing the pretentiously large, fully signed panels, at the same time did the smaller ones that go by the name of the Brunswick Monogrammatist. Considering the difference in the painter's point of vantage, I always find the same types and the same sense of body image. Both types of panels, in particular show a concatenation of figures, the crossing of arms, relations proceeding in every direction. If the two painters are indeed one and the same person, that conglomerate person certainly gains in stature and mental agility, showing himself capable of adapting vision, sentiment and brush-work to whichever scale and format was in hand.

The smaller format proves itself the natural and acceptable framework suited to the Netherlandish disposition. This serviceable effect is often observable, especially in the development of genre painting. Modestly dimensioned panels manage to look at life undramatically. Their innocent content enables the beholder to maintain his detachment, a point of view from which he may regard everyday life without his hackles rising, indeed with a certain tolerance and even a sense of humour. Bruegel himself began on a small scale.

There is a mysterious relationship between Herry met de Bles and the Monogrammatist, whom for the time being we shall still feel free to regard as Jan Sanders. Herry, himself probably identical with Herry Patenir who qualified as a master in 1535, was truly a landscape painter. His output was prolific and monotonous, works in a small style with arbitrary and outlandish formations. His figures may vary, but are always feeble and casual. There are, however, some panels by him with figures in well-done postures, two versions of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, for example, one in the Vienna Academy (130), the other in the Doria museum at Rome (131). The landscapes in these two panels are rather different, but the figures coincide precisely and, quality apart, display the style of the Brunswick Monogrammatist.

Herry met de Bles either had his pictures enlivened with various figures in the studio of the Monogrammatist, or he may have had drawings of that painter, which he employed in his predicament, or, lastly, some inferior figure painter inserted the figures, copying after the Monogrammatist.

There are a few pictures with figures that seem worthy of the Monogrammatist, such as a *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Bachofen-Burckhardt collection at Basle (232, Plate 125) and another in the possession of the art dealer van Diemen in Berlin (231, Plate 124). Their landscape forms too show certain resemblances with Herry met de Bles. We must assume that there were reciprocal relations between these two masters.

Life and Works of Jacob van Amsterdam

53

Collectors and learned iconographers of woodcuts at an early stage came upon a figure but dimly defined by the initials *J...A*. Between these two letters appears a kind of hallmark, apparently composed of two interlocked *A*'s—without the cross-bars—together with a *V*. Passavant¹ supported the notion of his predecessor Brulliot² that this signature related to Jacob Cornelisz. van Amsterdam, to whom van Mander devoted a capsule biography³. Many observations have since confirmed this interpretation, which is no longer questioned in the newer literature. A single woodcut, exceptionally, includes a *C* (for Cornelisz.) with the familiar initials.

According to van Mander, Jacob was born in Oostsanen (Oost-Zaandam), a village that lies a few miles North of Amsterdam. He was said to have been Jan van Scorel's second teacher, in 1512. Van Mander says that Jacob's son, the painter Dierick Jacobsz., died in 1567, aged about 70, which would mean that he was born about 1497. This in turn would mean that Jacob married no later than 1496 and must have been born some time around 1470. He died shortly before 18th October 1533⁴, in *grooten ouderdom*, as van Mander put it.

A portrait in the Rijksmuseum, bearing a particularly large signature and dated 1533 (289, Plate 154), has long been regarded a self-portrait of this master, and this identification can scarcely be doubted any longer, since a replica has turned up at Clumber Park, residence of the Duke of Newcastle (289a, Plate 155). The picture in the possession of the English duke shows the sitter in the Amsterdam painting in the same posture and looking in the same direction, as he stands at an easel painting the portrait of a woman of mature years. It can scarcely be doubted that this is Jacob Cornelisz. portraying his wife. The panel, singular in motive, is neither dated nor signed, but must have been done at about the same time as the Amsterdam self-portrait, which dates from the year of the master's death. Presumably the latter panel is a fragment of a picture that was originally half-length, showing arm and palette. This would also explain the unusually large signature. The face, by the way, is anything but senile in appearance, on the contrary, rather vigorous and scarcely indicative of an age beyond sixty. We are thus inclined to let 1470 stand as the earliest possible year of the painter's birth.

Finds over recent years have substantially swelled his œuvre. K. Steinbart has catalogued it conscientiously, critically and almost completely⁵. Considering what has happened to Dutch paintings of that period, the losses that have been suffered, the number of his surviving works suggests a very large output. None of the works, however, which van Mander claims to have seen in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Alkmaar, seems to have come down to us.

Amsterdam was a growing town with not much of an art tradition. Jacob was a willing craftsman, ready to meet whatever claims were made upon him there. He drew woodcuts, illustrated books, painted choir vaults, made stained-glass

1. *Peintre Graveur*, Vol. 3, p. 24.

2. *Dictionnaire des Monogrammes*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

3. German edition, Vol. 1, p. 77.

4. Cf. Six, *Oud Holland*, 1896, p. 96.

5. *Die Tafelgemälde des Jacob Cornelisz.*, Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Vol. 221, Strasbourg 1922; supplement in *Marburger Jahrbuch*, Vol. 5, 1929.

and embroidery designs, painted portraits and altarpieces.

By 1500 the master already owned a house in Kalverstraat, and in 1520 he bought another. About 1512 he designed the windows for the choir of the Nieuwe-Zijds chapel in Amsterdam. Soon afterwards he painted banners in water colour for the same church, and parts of them are still preserved in the Nieuwe Kerk. In 1522 he did a *Last Judgment* in the big church at Hoorn, up in the choir, probably to decorate the wooden vaulting, not unlike the one that has come down to us from the Alkmaar church⁶.

Van Mander's remarks about Jan van Scorel's relationship with Jacob include a warning which stylistic critics might well take to heart⁷. Van Scorel worked in Jacob's Amsterdam studio in 1512 and, we may assume, for some years afterwards, i.e. from his 17th to his 20th year. He had already absolved his apprenticeship proper and was then a journeyman and esteemed associate. Van Mander assures us that he was treated like a son, received an annual stipend for his 'ingenious and skilful' work and was allowed to do commissions on his own account in his spare time. There is even mention of a specific piece of work done in common. In Alkmaar, in the home of the widow van Sonnevelt, a member of the van Nijenborgh clan, van Mander saw a *Descent from the Cross*, an excellent painting by Jacob—but the landscape had been done by van Scorel. Arnoldus Buchelius, our other source of information on Jan van Scorel⁸, tells a rather different story. He mentions a devotional panel of the Nijenborgh family that was begun by Cornelis Buys and finished by van Scorel. Van Buchell saw this work around 1600 in Alkmaar, in the home of Hendrick Sonnevelt⁹.

In examining devotional panels that exhibit Jacob's style, some of them actually with his signature, we must take into account not only the stiff and stereotyped effect of run-of-the-mill workshop assistance, but also the possibility of stimulating and enlivening intervention by a talented representative of the new generation. Apart from the temporary collaboration of Jan van Scorel, Jacob's son Dierick presumably worked with his father for many years, in the spirit of his contemporary and comrade van Scorel.

We scan the works done in the Amsterdam studio between 1512 and 1515 in vain for signs of collaboration by others, but around 1524 the influence of van Scorel, who had by then returned after travelling widely, may be more readily discerned. At the very same time when Lucas van Leyden yielded to Jan Gossart's blandishments, the spirit of the South, through the medium of Jan van Scorel, exerted a relaxing and releasing effect on the Amsterdam tradition.

A *Jacob van Amsterdamme, scildere*, was entered in the Antwerp guild register in 1507 as a master. In 1510 he registered an apprentice, in 1516 two. Most historians agree that this is Jacob van Oostanen. It is curious, all the same, that a master who, according to van Mander, seems to have been so closely linked to the Dutch town, who signed many of his woodcuts with the arms of Amsterdam, spent at least nine years working elsewhere. One proposed explanation is that Jacob shuttled to and fro between the two towns, and managed to qualify as a master in Antwerp, perhaps to be able to execute certain commissions there; but to my mind the strongest argument against the identity of the Antwerp and Amsterdam masters is that there is not a trace of the Antwerp art tradition in

6. Until recently on display in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam [32].

7. Cf. van Mander's biographical sketch of van Scorel, in the German edition, Vol. 1, p. 266.

8. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel*, The Hague, 1923, p. 114.

9. Cf. further on, in the chapter on Jan van Scorel, p. 66.

Jacob's style, and if he did sojourn in the Schelde port, this fact throws no light whatever on his development.

Jacob's signed paintings that form our point of departure are dated, one and all. This is their chronological sequence:

1523—Altarpiece with shutters, *All-Saints*. Kassel museum (245, Plate 136).

1524—*Salome*, at half-length. Mauritshuis, The Hague (284, Plate 150).

1526—*Saul at the Witch of Endor*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (250, Plate 139). The day, *novemb. 29*, is included.

1526—Altarpiece with shutters, *Virgin and Child*. Stuttgart museum (243, Plate 133). The shutters with the donor couple are dated 1530.

1533—Self-Portrait. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (289, Plate 154).

Among these five works, I shall ignore the Stuttgart triptych, because I have doubts in respect of the execution.

Jacob was about 53 when he did the Kassel altarpiece. From the dated and signed works we learn only about his mature and late style. As to his earlier work, we must simply extrapolate backwards in time, a process in which his signed and dated woodcuts are of considerable value.

The earliest date on a woodcut is 1507. This still does not take us all the way to what could be called youthful works, for when the master did this one, he was already 37.

The Kassel altarpiece of 1523 shows uniform care throughout in the execution and may be accounted essentially a work of Jacob's own hand. It has come down to us in a sound state and with its wealth of figures affords us a well-rounded view of the master's types, a clear picture of his formal idiom and an idea of his character and its limitations. Overall we arrive at a favourable judgment of his powers of composition.

The congregation of saints is exemplified as a large and well-organized court assembly, worshipping the Trinity enthroned centrally at the top. Heaven stands open, revealing, between bands of clouds, the multitude of those vouchsafed the sight of the godhead, a hierarchy carefully graduated in scale. Space seems to be filled with saints and angels, indeed, to consist of angels and saints. In the lower part of the centrepiece half-length figures project from beyond the edge—Moses, Joshua, David, Aaron and other representatives of the Old Covenant, looking upwards, for the most part seen from the back. To the fore on the right shutter are the Twelve Disciples, St. Peter in the lead, the Church Fathers further back, and the martyrs, all facing towards the middle. On the left shutter, Abraham and Isaac, Adam and Eve, and female saints.

In this orderly execution of a theme requiring a certain spatial and spiritual stature, a degree of exaltation and transfiguration, we note the somewhat earth-bound quality of the master's vision. Depicted in broad daylight, the throng appears crowded together and closely interwoven.

In their proportions the figures are stocky rather than slim, with broad heads and steep brows. The tops of the strongly developed skulls are almost flat, giving an impression of four-square ruggedness. The noses are short, for the most part, and often snubbed, the hair curly, the distance from nose to mouth little. The hands, swollen with veins, are used to hard work. The Almighty, Christ and the women

wear vacuous expressions. The holy men, some of them rather scruffy, display different and individualized versions of forthright reliability and faithful service.

The young women are done almost by rote. If we wish to find out about the master's ideal of beauty, we must go to the *Salome* in The Hague, dating from 1524, who looks us full in the face. Her head is wide at the top and comes to a point. There is a hint of a double-chin. The eyes, slightly slanted, lie flat in the oval disc of the face. The mouth is small, with full and sharply curving lips. The hair is brushed back, leaving empty areas at the temples and forehead. The short nose bends up a bit at the tip.

The two pictures in the Rijksmuseum—the *Witch of Endor* of 1526 (250, Plate 139) and the self-portrait of 1533 (289, Plate 154)—are not in the regular line, and not only because of their theme. The brushwork, comparatively smart and fluid, with restrained local colour, creates a sense of warm harmony under a moistly shining surface. This was the time when Jan van Scorel had come home, profoundly changed. Possibly he beckoned his old teacher down new paths, and his former fellow student too, Dierick Jacobsz., then about 30 and working with his father.

The self-portrait, conceived on a large scale and aiming at a certain fiery pathos, serves us as an indication of the degree to which the aging master was still able to follow the trend of the time.

As for the triptych in Stuttgart, I take the view; despite the signature, that it is essentially the work of Dierick Jacobsz. (243, Plate 133). This is especially true of the shutters with their portraits, added later and dated 1530. The landscape, both on the centrepiece and the shutters, is quite evidently modelled on van Scorel.

The next list comprises the dated but unsigned panels that have been claimed for Jacob by Scheibler and his followers:

1507—*Christ the Gardener with the Magdalene*. Kassel Museum (270, Plate 147).

1511—*St. Jerome Altarpiece*, with double shutters. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna (244, Plates 134, 135).

1512—*The Nativity*. Naples museum (253, Plate 141).

1513(?) 1331—*Portrait of Jacob Pijnsen*. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (291, Plate 152).

1515—*Altarpiece of the Virgin*. Antwerp museum (242, Plate 132).

1517—*Altarpiece of the Adoration*. Art market, Berlin, formerly collection of Prince Wied, Neuwied (239, Plates 128, 129).

1519—*The Magdalene*. St. Louis museum, U.S.A. (283, Plate 150).

Apparently Jacob began to sign his panel paintings only in 1523, in the way he had been signing his woodcuts regularly ever since 1507. We see here how the custom of signing branched out from graphic printing to painting. A corroborative detail is that the idea of signing their name never occurred to Dutch painters who held aloof from engraving on wood or copper, like C. Engelbrechtsen and Jan Mostaert.

There is, of course, the important and worrisome question whether the group of unsigned paintings provide enough evidence to justify their inclusion with those authenticated by initials. My answer is yes, indeed.

The final link in the one chain, the *Magdalene* of 1519, agrees in approach and merit entirely with the second link in the other chain, the *Salome* at The Hague, dated 1524. It is not possible to drive in any wedge at this point. These half-length figures resemble each other in every respect—in their relation to the picture area and to the closed, arched window that serves as a frame, in the flat, oval face, the landscape, the drapery, the lighting, the brushwork, even in the lines of the stone soffit with its exaggeratedly shifted perspective lines.

The glittering jewellery of the *Magdalene*, the dress hems embroidered in gold, the sharply chiselled relief of nude fighting men, the blowing hair with metallic highlights on the crossing strands—all these impasto details are in the master's unmistakable hand.

Going back in time, we come upon the triptych in Neuwied, dated 1517, with its centrepiece of *The Adoration*, which was repeated in 1520, still further to the Antwerp triptych of 1515 and lastly the Naples picture of 1512. Nowhere is there a break or any essential fluctuation that might trouble the stylistic critic.

The nearest we come to a change in compositional approach and formal idiom is between 1512 and 1515. The Naples *Nativity* is marked by a superabundance of characters. The hands are comparatively lean and bony, the drapery, especially the Virgin's white cloak, conspicuously rich in sharp angular motives. Forms are three-dimensionally modelled with singular zeal by means of vigorous tonal contrast.

The Vienna altarpiece of 1511 speaks essentially the same language as the one in Naples, except that the former work, particularly voluminous, shows signs of what seems to have been comprehensive participation by assistants, as seen in the sharply marked figure contours.

There is a relatively wide gulf, but certainly not one that cannot be bridged, between the Vienna altarpiece and the panel in Kassel, dated 1507. The brocade in the robe of the kneeling *Magdalene* alone would suffice to characterize the script of Jacob—the master worked painstakingly and tenaciously on the stiff and grainy fabric. The large heads—the Saviour's somewhat vacant in expression—the strong, broad hands, the dry curly hair—all these are in the manner with which we are familiar. The whole composition is opaque, bright, cold, petty, painstaking.

As a draughtsman for woodcuts Jacob comes to our notice at about the same time, 1507. Yet the earliest woodcuts are quite free of the lingering exactitude peculiar to the earliest paintings we know.

The drapery in the Kassel painting eschews the angularity that prevails especially in the Naples altarpiece with its persistently twisting ruffles and frills. In the woodcuts done at the same time the fabrics also curve and balloon, but not in the mannered style of the painting.

By 1507 Jacob was already 37. What, then, about youthful works proper that might tell us something about who were his teachers and whence he came? There are two works in the store assembled by stylistic analysis that seem to bespeak an early origin.

1. a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, in private hands in New York (278, Plate 148).

2. An *Adoration of the Magi* in the Utrecht museum, drawn into this context already by Scheibler (255, Plate 143).

These two panels may have been done as early as 1500. They differ, one from the other, and also from the Kassel picture with *Christ the Gardner*. Here as in some other cases we note the vacillation of a youthful and inexperienced master. The development of more than one painter may be in a way compared with a tree whose roots branch out widely, while the trunk grows up straight and firm.

The *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* panel seems a bit primitive, rooted in the Haarlem tradition. There is an echo here of earlier Dutch creations—the masonry bench on which St. Anne is seated broadly, facing front, the peacock, the idyllic tone of healthful serenity that sounds forth. The large well-modelled women's heads—the Virgin's with its lofty forehead—seem to follow Geertgen's style ever so slightly, although they do not disclaim Jacob's familiar type. The formal idiom fluctuates. St. Anne's hand, picking a pink, is lean and sinewy, not at all in keeping with its owner's habitude, while the Virgin's hand is soft and wide and slack. The coloris, the brushwork and the landscape are already quite in the master's wonted style.

The horizontal *Adoration* from the Church of St. Catherine in Utrecht is almost beyond doubt by Jacob himself (255, Plate 143). Particularly characteristic is the furrowed profile of the senior king with his steep brow and sharply receding occiput. In the overall design of this panel, Jacob stuck closely to Rogier's *St. Columba Altarpiece*, especially when it comes to the architecture. Two pages are awkwardly squeezed into the group of figures. The congested and rather laboured composition is painstakingly elaborated with almost an excess of zeal, the deeply modelled folds running often parallel.

An *Adoration of the Magi* in the Verona museum seems to be derived even more completely from an older model (257, Plate 141). There are several versions, one of them in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (341). In the Verona picture the spherical child's head and the landscape speak rather eloquently for Jacob's authorship.

None of the works hitherto, and rightly, ascribed to this master was, in my view, done long before 1500. His youth remains shrouded in obscurity. There has been no dearth of efforts to link up his art with the output of the generation that preceded him. Steinbart has pointed to the so-called Master of the Figdor Deposition as one who seems to have been a connecting link between Geertgen and Jacob¹⁰. There is a picture in the Bonn Provinzialmuseum, an unassuming *Nativity*, that might be considered a youthful work of Jacob (351). I have myself, in Volume v, Plate 23, No. 32, reproduced a panel, evidently connected with Geertgen, that has some features pointing to Jacob's style.

Jacob's woodcuts link up with the past more plainly, indeed, in a fashion that is rather noteworthy in the historical context. The book illustrations published in Holland between 1490 and 1500 are spontaneous expressions of native talent. The sequence begins with the earliest block books (1440-1460) and continues with the illustrations to *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (first edition believed to be 1486)¹¹, the woodcuts for the Lübeck Bible (1494) and those for the *Legend of St. Lidvina* (Schiedam, 1498).

Schretlen thought that the connection between the Lidvina woodcuts and

10. Volume v, pp. 33 f.

11. Cf. Volume x, p. 33.

Jacob's earliest signed illustrations—the rare series of the life of the Virgin, dated 1507—was so close that the former might be youthful works of the Amsterdam master.¹² It is as though one makes the shelter of a port, coming in from the tempestuous expanses of the open sea. Jacob had a certain domestic sobriety without a trace of the bold flights with which the Lidvina draughtsman seems to have anticipated the great Pieter Bruegel.

Jacob's dated paintings reach from 1507 to 1533, forming a sequence into which undated specimens may be readily fitted. A study of the woodcuts enriches our ideas of the master's course, especially for the period from 1507 to 1513.

Among additional early works was a *Holy Family* in the Kaufmann collection, Berlin, destroyed by fire (258a)—a replica survives in the Aachen museum (258, Plate 144). There is also, in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum at Antwerp, a *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, feet in a sarcophagus, with mourning angels aloft (272, Plate 147). Lastly, there is a *David and Abigail* in the Copenhagen museum (251, Plate 140).

At this phase of his development the master shows himself to have been zealously intent upon dramatic expression. He overdid the filling of his picture space and elaborated his form with almost metallic detail.

A small altarpiece with shutters in the Berlin gallery, showing a *Virgin and Child* in the middle panel, was a donation by Augustyn van Teylingen and his wife Judoca, a member of the Egmond van Nijenborgh family (241, Plate 131). This same couple, featured on the inner shutters, appears in individual panels in the Rotterdam museum, with the names on the old frames and the date of 1511 (290, Plate 155). Mijnheer van Teylingen, who looks to be in his 50s in both portraits, married in 1504, was burgomaster of Alkmaar from 1509 to 1531 and died in 1533.

The 1511 date can be accepted only with reservations. The man's wide-brimmed hat bespeaks a somewhat later date. I would put the dual portrait in Rotterdam at about 1520 and the triptych at 1515. Its obtrusive qualities are impasto brushwork with strapping forms and shiny moist-looking surfaces, and these we find again in two altarpiece shutters that turned up recently on the London art market (247, Plate 138), as well as in a panel with two half-length male figures, a fragment kept in the collection of Count Fürstenberg in Herdringen, Westphalia (286, Plate 152).

Around 1517 Jacob's expressions moderated and a greater tranquillity began to prevail, as seen in the triptych from Neuwied, dating from that year.

From the series of Crucifixions I shall single out the one which the Rijksmuseum acquired from the van den Bogaerde collection (264, Plate 146). A number of similar panels are of rather inferior quality, probably workshop productions. The proportions are relatively slender. The characteristic types and emotional mood are a bit flattened, as though Jacob were following his contemporary Engelbrechtsen. Even so, the pearly, glittering, whiskery textures, like heavy brocade, bespeak the authorship plainly enough.

A particularly dainty example is a loosely and imaginatively composed *Adoration of the Magi* that reached the Tietje collection in Amsterdam by a circuitous route from a private collection in Vienna (256, Plate 143). It may have been done about 1522.

Not much can be added to the late works of 1526 and 1533.

It is his donor portraits that first tell us about Jacob as a portraitist. Efforts to claim individual secular portrait panels for him have been crowned with success only quite recently.

60

I have already mentioned the dual portraits in Rotterdam, probably done about 1520, the portrait of Jacob Pijnssen in the Tietje collection, dated 1513 (?) 1361, and the self-portrait from the year of the artist's death. The Gréau collection in Paris has a male portrait that is immediately seen to be Jacob's work (293, Plate 153). A replica of equal merit, with only minor differences, is presently on the Amsterdam art market (293a).

Lastly, there is a female portrait, of Queen Isabella of Denmark, in the collection of Baron Thyssen in Rohoncz castle (292, Plate 152). It is unlikely to have been done from life, but although it is not very sharply individualized, the sitter can be identified with assurance. A disciple of Jacob kept a sketchbook with several of his teacher's compositions, including a copy of the queen's portrait, as well as one of a lost portrait, in profile, of the king of Denmark¹³.

13. In the Berlin
Kupferstichkabinett.

In his male portraits—that of 1513 (?), the one in the Gréau collection and its replica—Jacob developed an approach of his own. The panels are tall and rounded at the top, with a wide, painted, ornamental frame that holds the armorial bearing and, in one case, the date as well. Jacob's fondness for curved tops is notable elsewhere too. His decorations, a blend of Gothic and Renaissance, flash out from dark backgrounds. His heads are high-browed, half-turned, sharply lighted, tightly fitted into their frames, the foreshortened side of the face shadowed, the facial axis stressed, especially the vertical channel betwixt nose and mouth, the chin vigorously prognathous. The sitters are rugged and virile, typefying the upright and resolute character of self-assured citizens.

The queen of Denmark returned to the Netherlands in 1523 and died in 1526, probably soon after the portrait was done. It includes some rather obtrusive ornamentation in a pillar casement, a dark background landscape, jewellery and dress fabrics of heavy texture, a rug to the fore on a ramp—such as the master inserted in several of his Madonna panels—and wide, uncouth hands with thickened joints and nails edged in black.

Vain Efforts at Splitting Hairs

Two Dutch scholars, curiously biased against Jacob van Amsterdam, have spent much effort seeking to deprive him of all the works he did not have the foresight to identify as his by signature.

1. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 37, 1919, p. 196.

J. F. M. Sterck¹ found the name of a painter, Jan van Hout, in a record book at the Convent of St. Agnes in Amsterdam. The high altar of the convent chapel was created between 1485 and 1487 and Sterck conjectured with some justification that the Master van Hout for whom annual masses were celebrated was the author of that lost altarpiece. He boldly associated that name with a panel clearly given to Jacob by stylistic analysis, which he proved to have come from the St. Agnes convent, namely a fragment of a devotional picture that reached the Rijksmuseum by an exchange with the Berlin gallery (287, Plate 151). Evidently much of the large original panel was destroyed during the excesses of the iconoclasts, leaving only two portions with donor portraits. The original frame was cut down to fit the two joined pieces, a process in which part of an inscription on the frame was lost. All that is left is:

Item in't iaer ons heren MCC CCC ende III twe daghen voer Korsdach starf Korsgen Elbertsen mijn lieve... In't iaer ons heren MCC CCC ende ses op Sinte Cecilie dach starf Geerte Kortens mijn lieve moeder voor wiens si...

A panel, we note, commissioned by a daughter of Korsgen in memory of her parents. The surviving fragments show a father with three teenage sons and a mother with ten daughters. One daughter in the female group is shown in white religious habit and placed to the fore. As shown in the inscription, she is the donatrix. Actually, a Griete Korsgen was prioress of the Convent of St. Agnes and in 1518 had a panel with the likenesses of her parents installed in the convent refectory—evidently our picture, which must have, therefore, been done before 1518—judging by the style not very much earlier, however. Jan van Hout seems to have been no longer alive when this panel was painted.

A more firmly founded effort to invent a rival to Jacob van Amsterdam was tirelessly pushed by Six² who tried to bring in a whole series of combinations linked to a painter named Cornelis Buys. According to van Mander, Buys was not only a contemporary but an actual brother of Jacob and a competent painter who flourished in Alkmaar, where he died in 1524. The geographic coincidence provided the original reason for ascribing the painted choir vault of the Alkmaar church to him. Mijnheer van Teylingen was burgomaster of Alkmaar at the time and his wife as a member of the Egmond van Nijenborgh family, with whom Buys can be shown to have had a connection. It was certainly tempting to ascribe to Buys not only the Alkmaar choir decorations, but the dual portraits in Rotterdam and the Berlin triptych. But then there was no stopping. No dividing line in style and brushwork could be shown between the two brothers. Six ended up by claiming nearly the whole oeuvre of Jacob for Buys—except where a signature debarred him.

2. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 42, 1925, pp. 1 ff.; Vol. 43, 1926, p. 135.

Actually, no picture can be shown beyond doubt to be the work of Cornelis Buys. Jacob was summoned to Horn to paint the church ceiling there, and he may well have gone to Alkmaar on a similar errand, even though his own brother worked there as a painter. As for that brother, I have, with something less than complete conviction, sought to identify him as the Alkmaar Master of the Seven Mercies³.

The Character of Jacob van Amsterdam

Jacob van Amsterdam can be scarcely counted among the masters who fascinate and enthrall the psychologist with their quirks. Rather is he a subject to preoccupy and gratify the historian, for he bears eloquent witness to a particular time and place. He did what he had to do, in accord with his fellow burgesses. He served his town's need for devotional imagery and he did so in a spirit of profound faith that was entirely compatible with professional competence.

Jacob belonged to the generation of Jan Mostaert and Engelbrechtsen and was firmly rooted in the traditions of handicraft, scarcely touched as yet by the creative pride that began to stir with Jan Gossart and Lucas van Leyden. Only in his later years, possibly stimulated by his former student Jan van Scorel, did Jacob transcend traditional craft limits—in his choice of themes, his conceptions and his style.

The supernatural takes on robust flesh in his art. His creatures are of this earth, without solemnity or transfiguration. He was fond of enlivening his groups with angels in abundance—and Jacob's angels are strapping boys, winged gnomes, whose spherical heads merge into their bodies without benefit of neck. Far from sounding pious airs in praise of God, they are shown as noisy playmates of the boy Jesus, working at various instruments. The older males are on the uncouth side, occasionally choleric, as though on the verge of apoplexy. Their skins of coppery sheen seem stretched over bulging flesh. Their work-worn hands are vigorous in grasp, with gout-swollen joints and stubby fingers.

His ideal women have large heads poised on slender necks. Their faces and eyes are flat, their noses little and often snubbed, their lips full and their small chins sharply demarcated. Their hair looks brittle and rough, with wavy, intersecting lines of light. The men are on the stocky side, square- and hard-headed, compact and abundantly furrowed, often rough and unkempt.

Jacob achieved his depth effects by perspective, but often his architectural lines seem to recede towards the vanishing point too precipitately. Open-air perspective is but feebly developed. His sombrely tinted landscapes seem to push their way to the fore. Although his compositions are full of figures, often crowded, they do not seem to take up a great deal of space and maintain an old-fashioned aspect. His overall arrangements are rather simple and the master provided for variety by means of lively postures and sharp contrasts of light.

His hatching and dotting is heavy-handed and he displays a myopic interest in texture. His flesh parts, smooth or scarred, are tangible, as are his fabrics and weavings, his grainy brocades and flashing metallic decorations.

Jacob proffered a dim and turbid palette—dark lake and rusty tints. Local colour is sacrificed to leaps from light to dark, in pursuit of the illusion of depth, as well as to contrasts of rough and smooth, shiny and dull, moist and dry. Contours are not infrequently entered as black lines. One senses a hand inured to drawing on blocks of wood.

Drapery folds are deep, often, in the early phase, with a monotonously serpen-

tine quality, later on with angular breaks, ultimately swinging more freely.

In the service of the woodcutter's art, Jacob was a fertile draughtsman, but he never did any engravings. In this respect, his relation to Lucas van Leyden is like that of Burgkmair to Dürer. One is entitled to draw certain conclusions from a preference for one graphic art over another. Venice, Augsburg and Amsterdam were places where the woodcut flourished, and also places that proved to favour the painter's vision. Given a block of wood, Jacob could draw as freely and masterfully as Burgkmair, an artist whom he also resembles in his *coloris*. Easy draughtsmanship, reminiscent of script, corresponds to a way of seeing, we are inclined to dub 'painterly', and we wonder, then, that this master, stylus in hand, became a 'painter' in black-and-white long before he was one with the brush. This is a matter that already gave us pause when we considered the work of Lucas van Leyden.

How pedantic, limited and laborious the Kassel painting of 1507 looks beside the casually limned woodcuts done at the same time!

The male heads, looking as though they were carved of wood, reveal something of the company Jacob kept. His was a stubborn and dutiful rectitude, a strong will incapable of flights of fancy, yet proud within its narrow compass. Jacob the painter shared in the Puritan sobriety with which his fellow citizens built up their town and their society.

Life and Works of Jan van Scorel

We are well-informed on Jan van Scorel, because van Mander devoted a relatively detailed biography to him—van Mander usually knew more about Dutch than about Flemish masters. His introduction tells us why he thought van Scorel so deserving of distinction and renown—indeed, he there set forth a theory of art that may well have been shared by most Dutch scholars and that agrees in its main points with Dürer's views. The sturdy Netherlanders, according to van Mander, were given to imitating nature as well as they could, but were never quite able to emerge from the 'Dark Ages,' until van Scorel, following the example of the Italians, had indoctrinated them with a higher sense of art. As for the Italians themselves, van Mander proclaimed, they did not succeed in telling what was beautiful and what was ugly until they, in turn, dug up the ancient statues of bronze and marble that cleansed their taste and purified their judgment.

The theory is implausible, if only on account of its naïveté, but it may help explain the prestige van Scorel enjoyed in his lifetime and subsequently, as it helps us understand his own creative approach, for he was, after all, quite familiar with this type of thinking. If van Scorel actually visited Dürer in 1519, the German probably discussed in his own way such things as craft and art with the young southward-bound Dutchman—the differences between tradition in the North and enlightenment in the South.

Notes by Arnout van Buchell¹ supplement van Mander's report, but also contradict some of it. Van Buchell lived in Utrecht, hence spoke with some authority about van Scorel, who also resided there. Van Buchell's notes date from about the same time as van Mander's biography, shortly before 1600.

Born in the village of Schorel near Alkmaar on 1st August 1495, Jan van Scorel was the natural son of the local pastor and as a boy enjoyed the patronage of the Egmond van Nijenborgh family, who apprenticed him to the noted Alkmaar painter Cornelis Buys. Except for the birth date, given by van Mander, these details are provided by van Buchell.

Van Mander tells, less convincingly, of 'friends' who looked after the boy, orphaned at an early age, and put him through school in Alkmaar, where he made good progress in Latin until his 14th year. He was then supposedly apprenticed to a Haarlem painter named Willem Cornelisz. There need be no clash between what van Buchell and van Mander report, if we assume that the Alkmaar apprenticeship with Cornelis Buys preceded that in Haarlem.

Van Mander seems to have listened to gossip about van Scorel's Haarlem period. Willem Cornelisz., he says, was a slothful drunkard, who for three long years unconscionably exploited his pupil's talents. We know nothing about this Haarlem painter and from van Mander's unflattering account have neither need nor occasion to trace his art and his influence on van Scorel. We do recall, however, that at this very time, between 1508 and 1519, Jan Joest flourished in Haar-

1. Ms. in the library of Utrecht University, edited by G. J. Hoogewerff and J. Q. van Regteren Altena: *Arnoldus Buchelius, Res pictoriae...*, The Hague 1928, p. 30.

lem, a painter from whom van Scorel might have learned more than from anyone else in Holland².

2. Cf. Volume IXa, p. 11.

From Haarlem, van Scorel went to Amsterdam to work with Jacob Cornelisz. Van Mander puts the date, which probably marked the beginning of their association, at 1512³.

3. Cf. above, p. 54.

66 If we accept all these dates—which are probably not as accurate as all that—van Scorel's three-year Haarlem apprenticeship must have fallen into the years 1509–1511, the schooling in Alkmaar 1505–1509. This would fit in with the statement that van Scorel left the grammar school at Alkmaar when he was 14. Of course, if we are to believe van Buchell, the boy not only attended the Latin school prior to 1509, but also received his early grounding in art under Cornelis Buys during that period.

We may envisage that the Egmond family were patrons of the church of which van Scorel's father was the minister and took an interest in the bright and talented boy. His early interest in art may have disposed of any plan they had to make him into a scholar or clergyman and they apprenticed him to their painter Cornelis Buys. In later years van Scorel was well thought-of in high church circles. A well-versed linguist, he was assured in manner wherever he went, composed poetry and was on friendly terms with scholars. Hence the years he spent attending the Latin school in Alkmaar were anything but wasted.

Cornelis Buys painted a memorial panel for the Egmond family, which was installed in the church at Alkmaar and which van Buchell saw in the home of Hendrick Sonneveld there. According to van Buchell, Cornelis Buys left the altarpiece unfinished and it was completed by van Scorel.

Van Mander mentions a *Deposition*, also in the Sonneveld home, supposedly painted jointly by Jacob van Amsterdam and Jan van Scorel⁴. It may be the *tabula mortuaria* of the Egmond family—indeed, this seems likely—and any contradiction may be explained by assuming that when this work was exhibited around 1600 it was described as having been begun by van Scorel's teacher and finished by him. Van Mander may have thought the teacher was Cornelis Buys of Alkmaar, van Buchell Jacob van Amsterdam.

4. Cf. above, p. 54.

Van Mander adds some romantic embellishments to the friendship between Jacob Cornelisz. and his youthful assistant. The young man, he reports, was fond of his master's 12-year-old daughter and set out on his wanderings in the hope of marrying her upon his return.

We do have works that were done in Jacob's studio between 1512 and 1515 and are thus in a position to examine them with a view to establishing what lessons and models they may hold—also, to be sure, as to any rôle that may have been played by Jan van Scorel, who can be assumed to have already achieved a certain autonomy by then.

There were no family ties to detain Jan and, thirsting for knowledge, he sought out Jan Gossart in 1517, who was then in the service of the bishop of Utrecht. He then wended his way southwards, eager to drink at the same wellsprings as had Gossart a decade before. Van Mander mentions some waystations on van Scorel's journey—Cologne, Spire, Strasbourg, Basle, Nuremberg and lastly Steyer in Carinthia. In Spire he met a cleric who instructed him in the art of perspective

and for whom, in turn, he painted several pictures. He stayed in Nuremberg for some time, in order to be close to Dürer.

In Carinthia he did an altarpiece with shutters for the aristocratic Frangipani family (298, Plates 160-162). It is still preserved in the church at Obervellach and bears the master's name and the date 1520. Here at last is a solid landmark by which we may judge the effect on van Scorel's work of everything he had learned up to his 25th year.

Next came Venice, where he joined a company of pilgrims bound for Jerusalem. He visited Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes. Drawing from nature, he made sketches of the holy places, which he later used for the backgrounds of his religious scenes. At the end of this pilgrimage he went to Rome, where he avidly studied the remains of ancient architecture and sculpture, as well as the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. In January 1522 Adriaen Boeyens of Utrecht was elected pope, taking the name Hadrian VI. The new pope conceived a liking for his fellow countryman and, in Mander's words, 'put him in charge of all of the Belvedere', making him overseer or administrator of the art treasures of the Vatican. This signal honour was accorded to a 'barbarian' who had spent scarcely a year in Rome!

Of course this was a case of favouritism. Still, van Scorel must have acquired some knowledge of ancient art in a hurry, to create the impression that he was deserving of such distinction; but this Roman adventure soon ended. Hadrian survived only until 1523 and van Scorel, no longer enjoying the protection of his exalted master, returned to Holland. Actually he set out on the return voyage only after 26th May 1524, for we have a letter with that date, which he addressed to Antwerp while still in Rome⁵.

Up until this point the life story of Jan van Scorel reads like a typical adventure novel. The youthful hero is influenced from many sides to an almost cloying degree—Dürer, Venice, the Middle East, the ancient art of Rome, Raphael, Michelangelo—whatever in that age was calculated to elevate a painter to the level of 'artist', this young Dutchman had experienced it.

Biographers love to pounce on their heroes' journeys, for clandestine experiences, relationships and encounters are believed to determine a master's destiny and art. The historian sees his task as one of forging the surviving works and biographical data into a chain of causes and effects. In such a process, it is hard to avoid the folly of overestimating those incidents that happen to have become known, especially changes of locale. I cannot promise that I myself have avoided this pitfall—but at least I have warned the reader.

Van Scorel settled in Utrecht in 1524 or 1525. It was his country's ecclesiastical capital and in his letter from Rome he already signed himself *canonick t' Utrecht*, perhaps anticipating a promise the late pope may have made him. Actually, as far as we know, he was appointed a canon only some years later, in 1528 (371).

The Obervellach altarpiece tells us where van Scorel stood in 1520, after his Dutch apprenticeship and the point to which he had advanced after his wanderings in Germany. Even if we knew nothing about how this work, painted in Carinthia, on a panel of local wood, came to be, we should guess from the style that its author was a Dutchman and we might even conjecture that he was a product of

5. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel*, The Hague, 1923, p. 39.

the workshop of Jacob van Amsterdam. Thus van Mander's account is corroborated at least in part. On the other hand, there is no discernible trace of van Scorel's encounter with Dürer.

The middle panel, a bit wider than it is high, presents a *Holy Kindred*, conceived in rather unchurchly terms. Members of the Frangipani and Lang von Wellenberg families were made to stand in for the fathers and mothers of Christ's family, and they are all shown standing, instead of seated, lending a mobile, fortuitous and casual air to the group.

Portraits in devotional panels were a familiar feature from van Scorel's Dutch predecessors. Dierick Bouts, Geertgen, Gerard David and Jan Joest had already used them. In the Obervellach altarpiece, however, they are not set off sharply from the idealized types. Rather the whole group breathes a certain domestic familiarity combined with high-born dignity. The area and the locale, with the hillside castle in the background and the inn buildings in the middleground, that serve as the backdrop against which the painter has assembled his family, seem to have been taken down from life, enhancing the private and individualized character of this devotional panel, so remote from ecclesiastical tradition.

The name saints, the inscriptions and the armorial bearings confirm that van Scorel did the Obervellach altarpiece in 1520 for Christoph von Frangepan (Frangipani), who was married to Apollonia, a sister of Cardinal Lang von Wellenberg, but the precise circumstances remain obscure. The donor had been a captive in Venice ever since 1514 and was not released until October 1519. His wife died on 4th September 1519 in Milan. The couple did own estates in the vicinity of Obervellach, but they could not have sojourned there at the time the altarpiece was painted. The *Baron* who so hospitably received van Scorel in *Stiers in Korinthen*, as van Mander tells it, can scarcely have been Christoph Frangipani. Many attempts have been made to resolve these contradictions, and it has even been suggested that van Scorel may have done the work in Venice. Yet the altarpiece is said to have been painted on pinewood which among other reasons argues for Obervellach as the region where it was painted. Since van Scorel was in Jerusalem in 1520, he must have set out from Carinthia for Venice early that year.

In an entertaining book entitled *Der Ring des Frangipani*⁶, Thode gives a fictionalized account of the donor and his spouse, conjecturing that Anna Maria, Apollonia Frangipani's daughter of an earlier marriage, was the one who commissioned the altarpiece; but Thode's further suggestion that van Scorel painted the altarpiece only after his return from the Holy Land is unacceptable.

6. Frankfurt, 1895.

Venturesome journeys, new surroundings, the fortunate chance of patronage in distant parts, unfamiliar traditions of craftsmanship, unprecedented commissions—all these elements were calculated to awaken new powers and faculties. A holiday spirit lies over this picture, whose author, in the inscription, describes himself as *pictorie artis amator* rather than as a plain painter.

The shutters of this triptych, especially the versos, have an appearance of haste. The compositions are awkward and the proportions of the figures seem not quite right.

Let us endeavour to award final marks to this test piece by someone obviously eager to learn who had already absolved part of his schooling. We should have to

say that as a creator of idealized types he was a follower of Jacob Cornelisz, seemingly a bit confused by contradictory precepts. In portraiture he showed originality and talent, and this applies to his observation of locale too. In the centrepiece he succeeded in integrating landscape and architecture into a backdrop that powerfully projects mood and against which the skilfully grouped figures are effectively set off.

The marks of the Amsterdam studio are especially prominent in the drapery folds, in the rendering of the hair, in the child type and, lastly, in the ornamentation used to create rounded terminations at the inner tops of the shutters.

When van Scorel settled in Utrecht at the age of 30, he was probably readily accepted. Gossart had not lived there for some time. The Dutchman had much going for him. He had been to the Holy Land. Perhaps this was not all that much of a distinction, since many of his fellow countrymen embarked on such a pilgrimage in those days, whether from devout aspiration or venturesome curiosity for foreign parts. Van Scorel, however, had gone as a painter and his sketch-book gave him the means, in black and white, of making the recollections of his fellows come alive. A further element in enhancing his prestige was the fact that he had enjoyed the trust of the pope—a pope from Utrecht, of whom the townspeople were proud and whose death they mourned. The son of a clergyman, a canon, a pilgrim to the Holy Land, a papal favourite—the church authorities must have felt that van Scorel was a painter of altarpieces upon whom they could depend.

Van Scorel's first Utrecht patron, as van Mander relates it, was the dean of Oudmunster, a man named Lockhorst and 'a gentleman of the court and a great art lover.' The master painted several pictures for him in oil and water colour, including a *Christ Entering Jerusalem*, with a faithful view of the holy city, an altarpiece with shutters commissioned for the cathedral in Utrecht by the dean's friends. Herman van Lockhorst died in 1527. The altarpiece must have been ordered between 1525 and 1527 and was presumably unfinished at the time of the dean's death, judging from a remark that his friends had donated it.

This triptych has been acquired for the Utrecht museum (296, Plates 158, 159). Only the verso of the left shutter is missing (381⁷).

It is the centrepiece, in horizontal format, discovered by W. Cohen in the possession of Freiherr von Fürstenberg in Hugenpoet castle, that represents the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. The right interior shutter shows Ghisbert Lockhorst (†1454), Herman, according to van Mander the donor, and a youthful knight of the same clan (391), together with St. John the Evangelist, the Virgin and child with St. Anne and an abbot or bishop (401), all surmounting a Latin inscription. The left interior shutter shows two more Lockhorst clerics long since dead, another Herman (†1438) and a certain Werner (†1401). Here too there is a four-line Latin inscription at the bottom. The patron saints are St. John the Baptist and another saint carrying a spear (411). The right verso shows Sts. Sebastian, Gertrude and Christopher. The lost verso presumably showed a Magdalene, to whom reference is made in the Latin inscription (421).

The younger Herman, the donor proclaimed in the inscription on the right, had in 1526 restored a memorial adorned with both paintings and sculpture, in

7. On the fortunate results of creative stylistic analysis and expert museum work in this case, cf. the excellent and detailed report by Jonkvrouwe Dr. C. H. de Jonge in *Oud Holland*, Vol. 46, pp. 73 ff., and also the catalogue of the Utrecht museum (1933).

honour of his ancestors, who lay buried in the middle of Utrecht Cathedral⁸.

The centrepiece passed by inheritance from the Lockhorst to the Wyttenhorst family and subsequently the Fürstenbergs (1431). It is in a far better state of preservation than the shutters, which underwent many vicissitudes on the art market, with the result that the surfaces are badly scratched and restored. The Saviour, approaching the city of Jerusalem, is met by men and children bearing leafy branches to welcome him. The painter's vision is one of individual locale. He had visited Jerusalem himself, had stridden down the sacred ways, had seen the city from afar, from above, spread out over the valley, after a long and arduous journey.

What sets the scene is an encounter between the two groups. Jesus, astride an ass, is riding downhill, escorted by the disciples, while a welcoming throng is moving up towards him. The whole garland of figures trails away to the right. The ascending throng is partly hidden by a rise in the ground, across which there is a far-ranging downward view. The Saviour's disciples seem moved not only by the festive and worshipful welcome but also by the view of the holy city, the longed-for goal, suddenly opening up before them.

Van Scorel's way of lending space and depth to his picture is to allow the landscape to fall away in a dual sense. Not only does it stretch out behind the figures, it lies below their level. The eye seems to peer downwards over the lower edge of the picture; or, to put it another way, behind the ramp carrying the figures in the foreground, the stage descends abruptly. The middleground, always a source of difficulty, is overlapped and obscured.

The shutters show kneeling donors and standing saints, their versos more saints standing solemnly side by side. The master did not quite manage to reconcile his novel approach and vision with the traditional scheme he was obliged to follow. He failed to define his figures clearly, to see them apart from their rôles, their environment. They are oddly posed in the space they share. Archers in the distance aim upwards at St. Sebastian, paying no heed to the other saints close by, who are not their targets. St. Christopher with his powerful sweep needs much more elbow room, which he is denied. The commission really called for a composition that would be indeterminate in time and place—but such a thing was utterly foreign to this master.

The figures move laxly in billowing rhythm. The painter tells his story through postures, through the relation of bodies in space and locale. He had actually seen those foreign shores, had tried to envisage the events of the Bible taking place there. As a landscape painter he became a history painter. In his mind's eye, distance in time and distance in place became inextricably fused.

Let us bear in mind that the painters of Holland developed a 'sense of history' at an early stage, long before they had achieved any degree of sophistication. Van Scorel himself, proud of being a sophisticated man, was able to pursue an old ambition—to present the Holy Land and its Biblical people to the eyes of his fellow countrymen realistically. He had, of course, seen the land, but as for the people, he proceeded much like his academic contemporaries, men like Coeck or Vermeyen. He removed his people from the banal present, by configuration and dress and aped the Italians in elaborating a race of idealized heroes clad in classical costume.

8. On the subject of the inscription, which is in part garbled by restorative work, cf. *Oud Holland*, *loc. cit.*

If I call van Scorel a history painter, it is because I try to see him through the eyes of his contemporaries, mindful of trends rather than results. In our own days a painter who tried to illustrate the Gospels after a trip to the Middle East would do things differently, with greater knowledge, more painstakingly. Van Scorel, after all, never really mastered the sweep of the stony desert, the flora peculiar to the East. He did offer an authentic view of the holy city, but for the rest, overwhelmed by the vast spaces and drenched with the sun, he simply painted generalized, idealized Southern hill country.

Man in space, bathed in air, received light from the same source as did the land. Consistent lighting gave assurance of a new unity; but such 'progress' was achieved only at a certain price. The figures forfeited character and expressiveness. They merely signalled from a distance with vague gestures.

Van Scorel almost certainly did a portrait of his pope as early as 1523. His letter from Rome of 26th May 1524 was meant to accompany a likeness of Hadrian he had done two months before the pope's death, which was now offered to a certain Adriaen van Marselaer, who dwelt in Antwerp. When there was a demand from several quarters in the Netherlands for such a portrait, he probably painted replicas or had copies done in his workshop.

One version of this papal portrait is known to have been in the residence of the rector of Louvain University (350)⁹. It is said to have been destroyed recently and I cannot presume to judge its merits nor the state in which it was (44). The hand raised in blessing seems to have been well-done, in the style of the master and worthy of him.

A 17th century engraving with an inscription expressly naming van Scorel as the author is based on another portrait study¹⁰. A third type with the head in medallion-like profile is represented in a painting in the Kestner Museum in Hanover.

Of Herman van Lockhorst we have a portrait that reached the Fürstenberg family by the same inheritance route as the centrepiece of that cleric's altarpiece (354, Plate 187). It is in Herdringen castle to this day. Done between 1525 and 1527 and of established authenticity, this separate likeness deserves more note than it has found thus far.

Here the head is joined by a short neck to a massive thorax, turned a bit to the left, that fills the breadth of the picture. The sitter is dressed in a translucent surplice. The face, surmounted by a black cap, is shown in strong contrasts of light and dark, set off luminously against a neutral dark ground. The sitter's eyes, grave and spirited, are firmly fixed on the beholder. The ample, flabby face, furrowed with age, is not without a certain ecclesiastical dignity. Seeded with highlights and reflections, the portrait is firmly held together, despite its rifts. Broadly realistic, it is yet enlivened by a flashing spirit. The contours are blurred, as though slightly corroded by the light that flickers across the meaty countenance. Brightest of all is the white of the eye, shining imperiously round-about the dark pupils, which are turned to one side.

Soon after his return, van Scorel had ample occasion to prove himself as a portraitist. The Jerusalem pilgrims in the Dutch towns formed societies and conceived the idea of the group portrait, which actually goes back to the altarpiece donor portrait and was foreshadowed in Geertgen's panel for the Order of

9. Illustrated in Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 8.

10. Illustrated in Hoogewerff, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 9.

St. John¹¹, ultimately to culminate in the vogue of the large *Doelenstuk*. Van Scorel was himself a member of the Utrecht brotherhood and thus pictorially perpetuated the memory of a common experience.

The two earliest group portraits in the Utrecht museum, including the one in which van Scorel included himself, were done before 1527, prior to the time he left Utrecht for a while, to return in 1529. In the signature to the self-portrait, he describes himself as *Vicarius tsint Jans*, not as *Canonicus*. Hence he cannot have yet received his canonry, awarded in 1528, at the time he did this picture.

It was political unrest and the threat of war that made it seem advisable to the master to leave Utrecht in 1527 and move his workshop to Haarlem. There too he joined the society of Jerusalem pilgrims and painted himself in the ranks of the brethren (349, Plate 185). This panel, kept in the Haarlem Museum, is somewhat better preserved than the pictures in Utrecht. Here van Scorel described himself as *Canonick t' Utrecht tot Sinte Marien*. Executed in 1528 or 1529, the picture forms the best landmark for judging him as a portraitist. It is an important link in the chain of surviving paintings that tell us the story of this peculiarly Dutch type of visual art.

The twelve pilgrims, their heads strictly in line, each one carrying a palm frond over his shoulder, are all oriented towards the left, where a picture of the Church of the Holy Spulchre is held up by an aged retainer. Each head is surmounted by an armorial bearing with a motto. There is rhythmic alternation within the dignified procession, in that in the front row six pilgrims are shown to shoulder and chest, while of the six others in between virtually only the heads are visible, even though the heads in the rear row are in no way foreshortened or shadowed in perspective. There is, nevertheless, a sense of freedom and variety, despite the uniformity that was undoubtedly required in such group portraits. Nearly all the heads are half-turned, but few of the sitters actually look in that direction. Some of the others, including Jan van Scorel himself, seem to be casting about for the beholder. One pilgrim, indeed, is even looking back a bit. A serene gravity pervades the company, but there are slight differences, carefully observed, that characterize the various sitters by age and individuality.

Light shines in from the left in such a way that the deepest shadows gather at and under the nose and especially the cheeks, the jawbone being set off sharply at the throat. The flesh parts are not impenetrable to the light, full-blooded lips and nostrils occasionally showing a translucent red.

The development of the *Doelenstuk* proper is best followed in Amsterdam (344, Plate 184). What distinguishes it from the typical group portrait of Jerusalem pilgrims is its sheer worldliness and centralized, symmetrical composition, undiluted by any turn towards a salvationist focus. The members of the company all face to the front, their eyes fixed attentively on the beholder. Even in the earliest example known, the *Seventeen Harquebusiers* by Dirck Jacobsz. in the Rijksmuseum, dating from the year 1529, two rows of portraits are shown, one above the other. The painting of Amsterdam crossbowmen, also in the Rijksmuseum, that followed soon afterwards, in 1531, has only a single row with all the heads of the same size (344, Plate 184). It is centralized and symmetrical in composition and, in my opinion, was painted by van Scorel¹². Unfortunately, it is almost completely overpainted. Actually, the secularization of the group portrait was, so far as

11. Cf. Volume v, pp. 20 f.; also Riegl's account in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 13, 1902, pp. 71 ff.

12. Riegl, *loc. cit.* already voiced this as a tentative conclusion.

we can see, the work of Dirck Jacobsz., rather than of the Utrecht canon.

Van Scorel clung to the prescribed ecclesiastical rigidity, but he was warm-hearted and discerning in his observation of the members of the congregation—indeed, he was more sensitive than Dirck Jacobsz. to individual variation and fleeting mood. We are made to think that we are looking at men, women and children who were his relations, or who were in some other way close to him—people whom he limned for the sheer pleasure of recording a dear image rather than because he was being paid to do so.

Painters in general at that time were keenly aware that their livelihood depended on their sitters, even when these did not happen to be princes or important personages. For the most part they were decorously subservient while painting a likeness, responsive to claims and instructions, and sought to heed the slightest hint. Van Scorel, on the other hand, faced those who sat for him freely, independently and as an equal. He neither flattered, as did Joos van Cleve, nor intensified like Gossart, nor sought to read their character, like Quentin Massys.

Even without the inscription, it would require no proof to establish that the portrait of a young woman in the Doria gallery in Rome is of Agatha van Schoonhoven (355, Plate 189). Her whole demeanour and expression testify to her having lived with a painter able in this way to capture her grace with such immediacy. The sense of intimacy, the wholesome, warm-hearted, pleasing womanliness is instantly projected. She is posed at an angle to the picture surface, the ribbon of her white bonnet partly hiding one eye, as she glances at her lover with a covert yet radiant spirit of conspiratorial roguishness. The peinture is in keeping with this spontaneity, open and sweeping, full of luminous life. The panel is dated 1529, a time when the bond between the two may still have been new and fresh.

Portrait painters seldom concerned themselves with children, save princes and princesses, whom they were obliged to depict, often rendering budding character as preternaturally formal adulthood. Van Scorel did paint an over bright 'mama's boy' par excellence, in a panel dated 1531 now in the Rotterdam museum (374, Plate 196), and, by contrast, a similarly typical obstreperous lad in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo (375, Plate 195). In style this latter portrait is so similar to that of Agatha van Schoonhoven that it cannot have been painted much later.

A third group portrait of Jerusalem pilgrims was done presumably about 1535 and to the extent that the state of the panel allows us to judge, the master's style had not notably changed by that time (347, Plate 185).

Among the individual portraits that cannot be precisely dated, I commend the following for closer study:

A male portrait in the Berlin gallery, the verso of which carries a Lucretia, standing (362, Plate 193) apparently one-half of a diptych. The lost other half was probably a half-length Madonna, to whom the sitter is shown making reverential obeisance with genuine feeling rather than traditional gesture. The half-length figure is skilfully posed in a space that is rounded at the top. The mountainous background is steeped in a carefully graduated sunny haze.

A single Jerusalem pilgrim, shouldering a palm frond, formerly in the Chillingworth collection, is now in Detroit (360, Plate 190). Judging from the shape of the headgear this portrait was done about 1530. It is rounded at the top and has a

landscape background. The hands are expressively posed.

Another male portrait, once Imperial property but now on the Berlin art market, is of large format, with the sitter glancing at the viewer (359, Plate 191).

One particular species of picture stands out prominently, bearing the stamp of van Scorel's personality most felicitously. These are narrative panels with Biblical themes, conceived by one who was a landscape painter. The genre is not actually as new as all that. Patenier had already peopled his landscape with Biblical casts. Van Scorel, however, went beyond Patenier to achieve an organic integration of countryside and people. Not that he showed man simply resting on the bosom of Mother Nature—his characters were actively on the go within a dramatized landscape.

Quite unaware of the magnitude of his undertaking, the Dutch painter made bold to try joining Roman and Venetian trends.

Passavant saw a small picture, *Tobit and the Angel*, in the Boden collection at Cologne (311, Plate 169); and it recently turned up again in the Binder collection at Berlin. Signed *Joannes Scorell de Hollandia 1521*, it tells us that even in Italy, the master was already capable of weaving together different pictorial elements. It was a pioneering achievement.

The Haarlem museum has a panel of horizontal format, a *Baptism of Christ* (317, Plate 173) which came from the 'old house of the Commander of St. John' and is probably the painting described by van Mander as having been done for Symon Saen, master of the Order of St. John, perhaps around 1528. There is another similar Baptism in the Hevesy collection at Paris (318), while the Thürkow collection at The Hague has a *St. John the Baptist Preaching* (325, Plate 177). A *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in the Pitti Palace at Florence also belongs to this category (337, Plate 180). The postures are distantly reminiscent of Michelangelo. The figures, if not nude, are accoutred in ways that bare rather than shroud the body. Their features, of classic cast, are vacant, idealized at second hand. Their expression, ambiguous yet full of pathos, is overshadowed by the actions of their tall and muscular bodies. The consistent lighting with its occasional flashes, plays an even more important part, as does the heroic configuration of the countryside. Individual limbs—arms or thighs—are picked out while others remain in shadow. The lighting accommodates the land to the figures, the alternation of light and dark serving to provide a sweeping integration of people, soil, water, woods and hills. Wide shadow paths cross the uneven terrain, amid dark shrubbery, with bare, rocky pinnacles and buildings rearing up brightly. Rounded masses of foliage, also on the dark side, are enlivened with highlights. Often a lone tree rises in the middleground, spreading out its lacework against the luminous dome of the sky.

In the *St. John the Baptist Preaching* in the Thürkow collection the figures are artfully scattered, receding in scale with distance. The Baptist stands in the middleground, delivering his sermon from a hewn rock. He has only just begun—the congregation is still assembling, men and women are drawing close, fascinated and excited, many of them seen from the back. Each figure has enough room to move in free and noble contrapposto.

The drawing shines through the glazelike finish, and the whole picture resem-

bles a rapidly gliding stream in which some banal elements are submerged, along with some significant and emotionally expressive features.

A *David and Goliath* in the Dresden museum (308, Plate 169) displays with particular clarity the characteristics by which we recognize the master's own hand—the luminous palette (despite subdued local colour), the transparent shadows, the moist surface shimmer. To the fore the youthful hero, shown as he is about to sever the fallen giant's head from his body, and bending forward to such a degree that we see his tousled hair rather than his face. To the rear the battle still rages and we see figures in vehement action, their limbs flung out exaggeratedly, the sun, not far above the horizon, casting a flickering light over them. The valley that is the scene of the fighting is hemmed in behind by partly overhanging rocks.

The Detroit museum recently acquired a *Christ on the Cross* that provides a startling example of how boldly van Scorel could put dramatic spatial expanse to the service of Bible narrative (322, Plate 175). On one side to the fore are the closely linked figures of St. John and the swooning Virgin, expressively outlined. The disciple's head is turned as he glances across into the picture at Christ looming on his cross a considerable distance away. The conceptual originality of this piece begins with the rendering of the locale and is carried through in the tonal contrasts. In the right foreground the dark group is shown against a luminous, whitish background, while farther back on the left the light body of the Saviour is shown against a darkling sky. Contrary to tradition, the cross is planted on no hill, but rooted in a depression between the forward slope that bears the mourners and the mountain range rising in the distance.

Van Scorel seems to have avoided centralized and symmetrical arrangements, deliberately flying in the face of convention. The extreme in shifting oblique seesaw is reached in a *Bathsheba* in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, which is almost a puzzle painting (310, Plate 168). In the left foreground is the statue of a river god. Bathsheba is seated on the rim of a fountain, set off from a dark wall of foliage like a marble sculpture. In the right middleground are hurrying men and women, capering about, their function in the picture quite obscure. Local colour is very much subordinated here.

Van Scorel devoted far less attention to architectural space than to the outdoors. He stuck to actual buildings, recording rather than inventing them. He was, however, at pains to equip his backgrounds with buildings, grandiose and at once unfamiliarly Oriental in effect, but he remained reasonable and objective, building boxlike structures, almost barren of decoration, solidly 'classical' houses based on what he had seen abroad. Almost everywhere obelisks, like exclamation marks, proclaim distance in time and space.

On one occasion he did depict an interior, a product of the High Renaissance in Rome, reminiscent of Bramante—or he may have worked from an Italian design or model. This is a *Presentation in the Temple* acquired for the Staatliche Galerie in Vienna some time ago (316, Plate 172)¹³.

Evidently this was the panel van Mander admired in the home of Geert Willemsz. Schoterbosch in Haarlem. Constructed in carefully observed perspective, a church nave thrusts obliquely away, with vaulted niches and pillars. It

13. Cf. *Cicerone*, Vol. I, 1910, p. 646.

accommodates a loosely jointed chain of figures, likewise receding obliquely, with a woman carrying a child, and a boy, seen from the back. There is a sharp incidence of light, giving rise to concealing shadows. The colourful splendour of the hall, already almost tangible, is further enhanced by the dramatic contrasts of dark and light.

According to van Mander, van Scorel did a number of monumental altarpieces for Netherlandish churches, but almost all of them have perished, and even so, they could scarcely have been as individualized as his story-telling devotional panels, small and middle-sized. When he worked on large pictures, and especially on large-scale figures, the unrealism of van Scorel's eclectic approach was bound to emerge—quite apart from the fact that we must assume he enlisted a good deal of help for his voluminous commissions.

The surviving large-figure altarpieces seem empty and hollow, almost in proportion to the degree in which he followed the patterns of the Italian High Renaissance. The best example known to me of a comparatively conventionally painted altarpiece, a perfectly preserved *Lamentation* done by his own hand, was acquired for the Utrecht museum only a few years ago (323, Plate 177). It shows four women and three men mourning the dead Saviour, whose herculean body leans half-erect against his mother's knee. The figures are arranged in depth, dwindling in scale, organized into a tight group on the left. In the right foreground is the donor, a canon, shown kneeling. Above him in the background are buildings and mountains beneath a sky with fleecy white clouds. The mourners vent their feelings in measured postures, glancing sidelong at the viewer as though to make sure that their seemly nobility is appreciated. A fair, warm pure coloris with translucent shadows invests the whole with an appealing harmony, and the women's healthy grace triumphs over death and misery.

At Marchiennes, an abbey in the county of Artois, there were three altarpieces by van Scorel, according to van Mander, including one with St. Lawrence on the gridiron. Grete Ring has shown that a fragment of this panel survives in the Valenciennes museum (304)¹⁴.

The high altar of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, with a painted *Crucifixion*, has perished. Two *Crucifixions* of identical composition are probably workshop replicas of that altarpiece. One forms the centrepiece of a triptych in the Amsterdam Beguinage (299b, Plate 163), the other is in the Komter collection, also in Amsterdam (299). A third replica is in the archiepiscopal museum in Haarlem (299a), while a fourth, apparently of high quality, is in private hands in Switzerland (299c)¹⁵. One of the master's major works were the shutters of the high altar in the Church of St. Mary, Utrecht, described rather precisely by van Mander. In payment, the master is supposed to have been promised the first benefice to become available in the collegiate church. If this is true, the altarpiece must have been done before 1528, since van Scorel was appointed a canon on 16th October 1528.

Van Mander also mentions a fine altar panel in Gouda. In the Abbey of St. Vedast in Arras stood a *Crucifixion* with two shutters, in the Abbey of Grootouwer in Friesland a *Last Supper* with lifesize figures. In Breda van Scorel painted several pictures for Henry of Nassau and the Prince of Orange.

14. *Kunstchronik*, 1918, p. 179 [45].

15. Hugelshofer, *Oud Holland*, Vol. 45, 1928, pp. 83 ff.

He enjoyed the favour of many great lords in the Netherlands. In 1549 Philip II is supposed to have acquired paintings by him in Utrecht and taken them with him to Spain, where none of them have surfaced. Francis I of France is said to have tried to draw van Scorel to his court, in vain. Perhaps it was only after the Utrecht master had declined that the king was persuaded to summon Joos van Cleve in 1530. Van Scorel also entered into dealings with King Gustav of Sweden.

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In the Breda church stands a voluminous altarpiece that may serve us as a paradigm and a surrogate for what has been lost (302, Plate 165). We know that van Scorel spent some time in Breda in 1541, to represent the interests of his church with the Prince of Orange, who was regent of Holland and Zealand and lived with his uncle, who was lord of Breda. The triptych was probably painted at that time, although its donor has not been identified.

The altarpiece tells the story of the Holy Cross. The centrepiece shows the excavation of the three crosses, the left shutter the miracle of the True Cross, the right one the battle of Constantine. The versos of the shutters carry Sts. Jerome and Hubert. The actions involving the crosses and the battle scene are studies in tangible physical effort, orgies of rippling muscles, dramatic spectacles.

We should not expect too much of the execution of this altarpiece, since we must suspect at once that van Scorel's assistants had a large part in it. The St. Hubert shutter is bathed in evening light, the miraculous cross between the stag's antlers radiantly luminous. Together with the foliage and the hunting hounds, all this combines into an effect of surprising vigour. The only jarring note is the theatrically 'pretty' head of the saint.

Van Scorel's large altarpieces, on which the generally unfavourable opinion of him is based, should be regarded throughout as workshop productions.

Some Problems

78 Van Scorel as a portraitist deserves more attention and caution than he has hitherto received, not merely because his achievement in this area was important and trail-blazing, but because the demarcation of what is truly his is linked with difficult questions. It is not merely a matter of refining the *œuvre* by sifting out and putting aside inferior pieces that are imitations or workshop productions—that is relatively easy. No, works of eminent merit must also be re-examined, for while they may not denigrate him by being erroneously attributed to him, they may falsify and confuse our conception of his art. In recent years some knowledgeable and sensitive connoisseurs have ventured many attributions, and these should be carefully studied, even when it means the uncompromising correction of one's own errors.

We ever return to our point of departure, the group portraits in the Utrecht and Haarlem museums. They are not concentrated at a fixed point in time, representing but one phase of the master's development. Rather do they stretch over a lengthy period, affording us a perspective of his entire portraiture. True, in endeavouring to establish such a view we are constantly handicapped by the state of these more or less 'restored' panels—meaning that whole parts of them are overpainted. In addition, we must take into account that these group portraits represent a special challenge that modifies in some measure their whole conception and composition. Hence what we learn from them should not be uncritically applied to the individual portraits.

The sitters are glancing at the viewer, while the direction of their gaze is not necessarily the one in which they are facing. This in no wise impairs their grave dignity and faithful allegiance to a devout company, but it does loosen up the otherwise military rank and file arrangement. Whether straight ahead or sidelong, these individually varied glances reveal a certain intellectual superiority. No matter how lively the faces look, emerging from a powerful chiaroscuro, the tranquillity of the total composition is never broken. Countenances appear to be constructed of light and dark planes, inserted softly, occasionally at almost crystalline angles to one another. Texture and colour of the flesh parts and the fluffy hair are rendered with assurance with a casual brush, yet the spiritual always dominates the material and bodies never obtrude with massive bulges. This seems to me to redound greatly in van Scorel's favour, constituting a virtue that distinguishes him from some of his rivals, who were much more intent upon clamorous effect. To a high degree van Scorel owned the faculty of subordinating detail to the whole, while maintaining complete integration.

His hands are knowledgeably elaborated. They reach and grasp and open, but are seldom in vehement or violent motion.

A group of male portraits clamours for inclusion in van Scorel's *œuvre* (378-382, Plates 198, 199). In style they look Italian, and partly in dress and type as well. If their claim have any merit, they could fit only into the brief period of van

Scorel's Roman or possibly Venetian sojourn.

1. Stuttgart museum (378A, Plate 198):

Bust-length portrait of a man with a rosary. The sitter's beard is trimmed short and his hair flares out at the side in the Italian mode. Once catalogued as by Altobello Mellone, the picture was attributed to van Scorel by Ch. Loeser at my verbal suggestion¹. The picture is slightly overcleaned.

2. Copenhagen museum (380, Plate 198):

Bust-length portrait of a man with a lute. Transferred to canvas, imperfectly preserved.

3. Oldenburg museum (379, Plate 198):

Bust-length portrait of man, the hands not showing. H. Schneider gave it to van Scorel on the occasion of the London Academy show of 1929, which became the occasion for a lively debate.

4. Louvre, Paris (378, Plate 198):

Bust-length portrait of a man holding a sheet of paper with the words *1501 anno etatis mee 22*. It has been suggested that the date is garbled and should really be 1521.

5. Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna (382, Plate 199):

Bust-length portrait of man holding a book. Somewhat flabby, perhaps because of its poor state of preservation.

6. Padua museum (381, Plate 199):

Bust-length portrait of a man, dated 1521.

Winkler, especially, has supported the view that these pictures should be regarded as having been done by van Scorel².

All the heads are effectively posed against a bright sky, their hair a dark mass or the headgear dark. In four instances mountainous countryside is seen above one shoulder. The hands are fleshy, with a soft grasp. There are unmistakable differences within the group. The Oldenburg picture, of pre-eminent merit and reminiscent of Lorenzo Lotto, has light falling on the face, while some of the others notably the one in Paris, are modelled in ponderous, sharply demarcated shadows. The master was certainly capable of sensitively varying his illumination—around 1521 he was, after all, concerned with developing his style under the influence of Italian models. The sitter's gaze in every one of these portraits is fixed on the viewer, diverging a bit from the direction in which the head is turned. The side of the nose is shaded, the line of the mouth mobile and expressive.

We shall cling to the happy notion that van Scorel is the painter of these portraits, in which the styles of Upper Italy and Holland are blended. The step from them, however, to the portraits done in Holland between 1525 and 1529 is not inconsiderable, hence ultimate certainty must remain in abeyance for the time being. The Padua picture with its date of 1521 provides a powerful argument in favour of the ascription³.

A problem different from that of the series supposedly painted in Italy is posed by a family portrait in Kassel, together with three other portraits that have been lumped with it (383, Plate 200). The Kassel panel, in theme and form a unique achievement, has been usually attributed to van Scorel, occasionally to van Heemskerck. The decision deserves to be most carefully considered, since this

1. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 21, 1898, p. 70.

2. *Pantheon*, 1929, p. 69, where all but 2 and 6 are reproduced. The Padua picture is shown in *Oud Holland*, Vol. 48, 1931, p. 175.

3. Hoogewerff, on insufficient grounds, has given these pictures to a certain *Zuan Fiamengo*, about whom there are documents in Venice. Cf. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 47, 1930, pp. 169 ff., Winkler's opposing view, *loc. cit.* Vol. 48, 1931, and pp. 172 ff., for a reply and Hoogewerff's counter, pp. 178 ff.

grandiose composition, anticipating Frans Hals, would serve to expand and enrich one's picture of its author, whoever he may be. Behind the table, richly set with food, looms the impressive father, on the right at the narrow end sits the mother holding the youngest child with both hands, and between father and mother a boy and a girl. The family group with its dramatic contours is sharply and consistently illuminated, as though they were indoors. Actually they are posed against a bright sky overcast with swatches of white cloud. It is an entirely arbitrary but highly effective device⁴. The whole family radiates happiness and the picture comprises a genre on its own—one might call it the monumental genre group portrait. The tonal values of the picture are utterly consistent and subserve an overwhelming sense of immediacy that emanates from a group that seems to be quite unaware of any observer yet at the same time to be showing off ever so slightly. The baby seems to be posing a bit self-consciously, and its nudity, unusual in the north, harks back to Roman models.

The painter worked with wide, translucent shadow areas, delicate in their transitions and soft at their borders, qualities that enhance the illusion of texture and depth, without breaking the picture's unity or interfering with the expression of character. Here is van Scorel's style at the height of maturity, indeed, perhaps over mature. It is difficult to see how anyone could arrive at any other conclusion under the impact of this picture.

It is the proud and almost arrogant worldliness of this family portrait, of course, that sets it off from all of van Scorel's other works and has long given slight pause; but these difficulties are deepened by dual portraits, of Pieter Bicker and his wife, owned by Baroness Schimmelpenninck van der Oye and exhibited for some time in the Utrecht museum, where they could be carefully studied (384, 385, Plate 201). There can be little doubt that these two paintings are closely related to the Kassel panel, although they are a bit more ponderous and obtrusively modelled. There is the same propensity for still-life-like props—writing materials, spinning-wheel—to enrich the portrait. The shape of the hands is similar and the overall approach is the same—a kind of monumental genre. With these portraits, however—and a third one, of a man, privately owned and shown in Düsseldorf in 1928 (386)—we begin to move away from van Scorel in the direction of van Heemskerck.

Miss de Jonge has uncompromisingly given the entire portrait group to van Heemskerck, van Scorel's successor⁵. She cites in support a signature, *kerck*, which she says she was able to discern in the female portrait. This must remain doubtful and the verdict left to stylistic criticism; then too, these panels, dated 1529 on the frame, would have been done remarkably early. We must ask ourselves whether van Scorel could have actually painted them in 1529; but that is a question answered more readily than another: Could van Scorel ever have painted in this way?

We have a vivid picture of the style on which van Scorel was embarked in 1529—in the portrait of Agathe van Schoonhoven—but we have no idea at all of van Heemskerck's youthful style. While he was born in 1498, the earliest works that can be assigned to him with assurance date from 1532. He seems to have studied with van Scorel in Haarlem around 1527. Thus the Bicker couple, if indeed by van Heemskerck and correctly dated, would have to have been done

4. The background had been painted dark by some restorer, an addition that was only recently—and happily—removed.

5. *Oud Holland*, Vol. 49, 1932, pp. 24 off. The portrait of a boy in Rotterdam is there mistakenly drawn into the same context.

directly after his Haarlem period. Van Mander's account includes some passages apt to support Miss de Jonge's theory. He says that van Heemskerck was so close to his teacher that their work could be scarcely distinguished and that van Scorel let him go, supposedly jealous that the younger man might steal some of his credit.

Thus we need not be ashamed of our quandary. The disciple might, after all, have outdone his master. As against that, however, the work that van Heemskerck did in 1532 and later on is rather painfully harsh, with a bare immediacy and hollow pathos, on a level far below the Kassel family group.

The Character of Jan van Scorel

82 There is a strong element of optimism in the life and work of Jan van Scorel. He was at one with the powers that be. The religious convulsions of the time seem never to have touched him—indeed, he took his religious duties rather lightly and managed to combine them with humanist culture. Like a Roman prelate, he mediated diplomatically between the Utrecht church and the secular overlords. Van Mander says he was a mild-mannered and good-natured man.

The predicants, sectarians and iconoclasts were swept by religious fanaticism, but the orthodox, who held offices and livings, tended to be rather casual about traditional doctrine. The church did not harden and militarize itself until the Counter-Reformation.

Even in his younger years, when he was painting the altarpiece at Obervellach, van Scorel called himself a 'lover of the art of painting' rather than a painter, thus distancing himself from mere craftsmanship. He was intent upon rising socially. As matters then stood, clerical garb was what could bring him success.

Widely travelled, urbane, a linguist, on good terms with the ecclesiastical authorities, possessed of a knowledge of history, summoned by princes, van Scorel has much in common with Rubens and seems to share Rubens's easy camaraderie and inwardly indifferent but impeccably correct attitude towards religion. Like Rubens, van Scorel mastered the Latin formal vocabulary—in a different way, of course, and at another time—and again like Rubens, he saved his soul by remaining essentially a Netherlandish painter. His imagination was not weighted down by nervous tensions and thus his eyes had no trouble in roaming abroad and enjoying the shimmering surface of things.

He did share the prejudices of his Netherlandish contemporaries and his sojourns in Southern climes exacted their penalties. Like others he did not find it easy to transplant the ready-made formulas of the Italian High Renaissance to Dutch altarpieces.

Jan Gossart was in Rome in 1508, van Scorel in 1522. Both Northerners were confronted with statuary from antiquity as the proper models for contemporary art, and both understood some parts and misunderstood others, each in his own way. Gossart went South 14 years before van Scorel, and those years should be counted double, as far as the face of Rome is concerned. He came from the border region between France and Flanders, while van Scorel came from Holland. Gossart's vision was that of a sculptor, his eyes probing the motionless works from close up, while van Scorel was a painter able to discern heroes climbing and scrambling in the distance.

The detailed story-telling of which fathers and ancestors had been so fond was supplanted by pathos and exuberance. Meaning and content of the narrative got a bit lost in the acrobatic turmoil. The inventor's ambitions were exhausted in groups consisting of eccentrically moving bodies, in inspired arrangements and arrays.

Raphael had already departed this life when van Scorel got to Rome, but he

must have been dazzled by Raphael's achievement. There was no hiding from him in Rome in 1522. Raphael's ideal of beauty became the Dutchman's lifelong goal. Michelangelo's Roman masterpiece, the Sistine ceiling, was on view, even though the master himself was absent.

Van Scorel comprehended the great movement that was in full swing, but only from the outside, on the surface. He did not see, he did not sense as did Raphael and Michelangelo. What he did see, as a Dutchman and a painter, was man as created by the Romans. He learned to pose bodies in the heroic style, to invest faces with a 'classical' cast.

Goal and result of the action depicted often remain unresolved. Movement is simply observed for its own sake and becomes a kind of motiveless exaltation, like the pleasures of sports and dancing. The men stride out, their thighs usually pressed together, their shins splayed. Extremities are given preference. They rather than the slothful body itself are the organs of the will.

Van Scorel's buildings spring from observation rather than invention. They are virtually barren of decoration yet trend towards the exotic. Paucity of adornment was a characteristic of the High Renaissance and that kind of abstinence was precisely the Dutchman's meat. He became an affirmative, productive pioneer, even though his Roman ambitions warped his relation to reality, as an observer of distance and light—and as a portraitist.

By nature, van Scorel was better prepared to understand the Venetians than the Romans, and his brief sojourn in the city in the lagoon did more for his development than Rome. Baldass, especially, has emphasized the influence the Venetian school exerted on van Scorel¹. In addition to the paintings of Palma Vecchio, who was at the height of his career around 1520, the Venetian school of the woodcut may have fostered van Scorel's development. Integration of figures and countryside, investing the landscape with a lyrical character—these were typically Venetian qualities.

If the portraits I have grouped together in my Catalogue (378-382, Plates 198, 199) were indeed done by van Scorel, he proved himself to be surprisingly adaptable in incorporating the style of Upper Italy, of Bartolomeo Veneto and Lorenzo Lotto.

Unlike Gossart, van Scorel was fond of stepping away from his themes. His panels do not bulge quite so much, there is more expanse in them, and far less local colour than in the work of his Netherlandish progenitors. It is true, however, that local colour had already begun to be subdued in Holland, in Jacob van Amsterdam's approach, for example, and in Engelbrechtsen and the Master of Alkmaar. Whatever progress van Scorel made in the South, he was moving in the general direction already being followed in Holland. From his youth onward, he had been intrigued by capricious highlights, flashing and underscoring elements here and there. Under foreign skies his vision expanded and he grew attuned to events and incidents connected with his venturesome travels.

There was one ideal of the Promised Land that rivetted the yearnings of painters in the North over the centuries. They were fascinated by mountain ranges, golden skies against which mighty trees and venerable buildings stood out. We are mindful of Elsheimer, Claude, Jan Both, as masters who glorified the splendour of

1. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1929, pp. 220 ff.

the South. Jan van Scorel has a claim to being honoured as their precursor.

To fix his achievement, we are tempted to spin out some basic thoughts about the relations of body and light. Painters avail themselves of lighting, because they are intent upon projecting the illusion of texture, depth and colour. Gossart used light as a form of magic by which three-dimensional bodies could be made to appear on flat surfaces. Anyone seeking to display a sculpture is likely to move it about until he is convinced he has found the best lighting. This is the approach chosen by the primitive painters to govern the incidence of light.

The turning-point came when interest in the object actually being lighted gave way to the phenomenon of lighting itself. Light was no more a means to an end, it became the supreme end in itself. Of course painters, in the narrower sense, continued to choose and compose, but their concern was lavished less on the proper shapes and colours of the objects to be represented and more on the total picture, the unified vision.

A wider range was achieved, with many more motives, no sooner was light allowed to play—in the sense of *laisser* rather than *faire*. Indeed, the history of painting might be written in terms of growing faith in the semblance of things, an ever greater dedication to vision; and in such a history, Jan van Scorel would be celebrated as a trail-blazer. His tints are imbued with a bright luminosity translucent in its soft harmony. They remain moist and fluid in effect, poured out evenly over the picture surface without a break.

If we need any proof that van Scorel was a painter through and through and nothing but a painter, it is negatively provided by those few drawings that have been painstakingly identified as being his. Whether they are of figures or of the countryside, they are mere jottings, ineffectual, sparse, almost skeletonlike.

Van Scorel's may have wallowed in light, in three-dimensionality, in moving figures about in space, but when it came to the expression of character he was almost uninvolved. The faces of his tall and muscular figures are quite often covered or averted. As a creator of ideal types, he was a failure. Still, he did show himself to be a judge of character, whenever he assumed the rôle of portraitist.

These portraits are not really monumental, but rather on the intimate side. They seem almost to have been tossed off casually. Good-humoured as usual, the painter swiftly sized up the whole personality, sometimes including the outdoor setting in his sweeping and spontaneous glance.

He devoted much attention to the eloquence of the hand, a penchant he shared with his contemporaries. Yet his gestures are never strained, frantic, violent or even histrionic. The fingers curl, their grasp is kind and restrained. A complex organ to begin with, the hand, in van Scorel's renderings, is given even wider variety of form and shape by means of intersecting shadows, of light shining through in stripes and patches.

Van Scorel trained two disciples and followers. One of them, van Heemskerck, accentuated his teacher's style to absurd excess. The other, Antonis Mor, was described by C. Justi as 'the foremost Netherlandish portrait painter of his time and one of the most reliable and objective of all time'.

Jan Vermeyen and Jan van Scorel

We have already touched upon the dividing-line between van Heemskerck and van Scorel. We now approach the one that runs between him and Jan Vermeyen. Born in 1500 in Beverwijck near Haarlem, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen was not only van Scorel's fellow countryman but also, according to van Mander, the good friend and companion of the slightly older man. He did work for the Regent Margaret between 1525 and 1530, when he was still rather young. This is shown in a petition he submitted in 1533, after Margaret's death, in which several paintings he supplied are mentioned¹.

There is a portrait of Prince Bishop Erard de la Marck of Liège in the Pannwitz collection at Hartekamp near Haarlem (390, Plate 206). When it surfaced from private ownership in the Rhineland, it was greeted as a masterpiece by van Scorel and described as such in the Pannwitz catalogue. An etching signed by Vermeyen and identifying the sitter with his elaborate titles shows the head in the same pose and lighting, but reversed from the orientation of the painting². The petition to the executors of the Regent Margaret, already mentioned, speaks of 'many likenesses', two of which were *à la figure du cardinal de Liège*. We may therefore plausibly assume that Vermeyen did the etching from his own portrait study, if not from the portrait itself³.

The Regent Margaret, whom Vermeyen served, must have entertained friendly relations with the Liège bishop, since she had his portrait painted for herself and sent him a portrait of the empress, by Vermeyen.

With the help of these signposts, Benesch formed and expressed an unequivocal view of the particulars in which the portrait of the bishop differs from van Scorel's works.

Shown at half-length, the cardinal seems to balloon within the picture. In each of the top corners is an angel, their heads, chests and hands visible above the gathered curtain that forms a dark backdrop behind the prince of the church. We may view them as premature heralds of the baroque age. A few of Vermeyen's etchings bulge with mighty bodies and ostentatious drapes, all in token of an urge to thrust forward and shout at the viewer. More than one Netherlander around 1530, of course, availed himself of animated hands to dramatize a portrait. Jan Gossart started the trend, and Jan van Scorel, Dirk Jakobsz. and, in his final years, Joos van Cleve all allowed the hands to speak; but it is Vermeyen who seems to have developed this device most markedly and boldly, at a relatively early age too, the portrait of the Liège bishop (who was born in 1472) having been done before 1530. The masterfully foreshortened hands are in vigorous extension. Their eloquence lies in the quarrelling fingers, notably thumb versus index finger. We are allowed to look deeply into the one hand with its prominent tendons and pads, its demarcations between digits and its skin lines. The reason that so much attention is devoted to these complex and infinitely mobile extremities is to underline the sitter's hot-tempered character, to capture the viewer's

1. J. Houdoy, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 5, 1872, pp. 515 ff.

2. Reproduced in *Oud Holland*, Vol. 44, 1927, p. 179, in an article by Popham, who lists Vermeyen's etchings.

3. O. Benesch firmly drew this conclusion in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, Vol. 10, 1929, pp. 204 ff.

interest in this assertive and argumentative preacher. Princes like to be seen in the same light as others who play important parts on the stage of life.

The favour Vermeyen found with the Regent Margaret and the Emperor Charles probably stemmed from his ability for forceful representation of commanding personalities—and his work at court may well have further enhanced that faculty. He showed the powerful presence of his sitters head on, full-blooded, sharply individualized, for the ages, like a monument. The means he used were largely borrowed from van Scorel—the lighting, the angel types, especially; but Vermeyen, intent upon the sensational, differed from van Scorel, who preferred a gentler effect—the former had a distinctive emotional approach, creative goal and attitude towards theme and viewer. Unlike van Scorel, Vermeyen was willing to surrender pictorial harmony to overwhelming plasticity, arrogant and aggressive rhetoric and especially the most painstaking textures, like his minutely observed furs. The cardinals' wide brown collar appears to be of unimaginable softness, richly shaded in light and dark, almost inviting to be touched and so realistically rendered that individual hairs may be discerned. The hand reaching towards the viewer bursts open the picture's unity and tranquillity.

In van Scorel's portraits body and soul are often distinct. The body withdraws into the picture surface, while the soul seems to seek out the viewer. Vermeyen, on the contrary, allows both body and soul virtually to clash head on with the viewer. His frame becomes a door way which the sitter fills, through which he steps forward to meet us, four-square vigorous, spontaneous.

There are a substantial number of other excellent portraits, some already drawn into the present context by Benesch. As we enumerate them, we move farther and farther away from van Scorel.

1. Pitti Palace, Florence (393, Plate 207):

Bust-length portrait of a young man whose right hand is shown in a characteristic Vermeyen gesture, the thumb stiffly abducted, the index finger thrusting obliquely out of the picture, the remaining fingers curling towards the palm.

2. Bordeaux museum (399, Plate 208):

Bust-length portrait of a man with a closely trimmed beard, shown head-on, with hands in a dramatic gesture. Not in a perfect state of preservation.

3. Private ownership, Genoa (395, Plate 208):

Bust-length portrait of a bearded man. The right hand with its extended index finger is thoroughly characteristic.

4. Academy, Vienna (392, Plate 207):

Bust-length portrait of a man, cf. Eigenberger's catalogue, p. 75. His masterful account conveys perhaps the best picture of this master.

5. Metropolitan Museum, New York, Havemeyer Bequest (389, Plate 205):

Chancellor Carondelet at half-length. This superb portrait of an important cleric who bore the title of Chancellor of Flanders enables us like no other work by Vermeyen to fix his position. Carondelet was fond of having his likeness done and engaged the greatest portraitists. Somewhere between 1514 and 1520, he had himself painted by Gossart at least three times⁴. There is a diptych by van Orley—the Madonna formerly in the Northbrook collection and subsequently on the art market in London⁵, and a portrait in the Pinakothek, Munich. The features in

4. Cf. Volume VIII, p. 38.

5. Volume VIII, No. 146, pp. 71 f.

the Munich portrait coincide with the New York panel. Born in 1469, the statesman looks to be about 50; and judging from the style of the Madonna, van Orley's diptych cannot have been done long after 1520. It is thus not implausible that Vermeyen may have followed van Orley, who was a bit older and his rival at the Brussels court.

But the situation may be more complex. The head in the Munich panel arouses suspicion and does not well accord in style with the hands, which display van Orley's wonted manner. I should like to venture the guess that Carondelet had the portrait in his diptych worked over, on the basis of the likeness Vermeyen had done shortly before 1530. The head-on posture, with the sitter's eyes firmly fixed on the viewer, is characteristic of Vermeyen rather than van Orley. Could Vermeyen have revised the bishop's face in van Orley's diptych?

6. Pembroke collection, Wilton House (391, Plate 206):

A male portrait at half-length that has been more than once associated with the de la Marck portrait, by Benesch, among others. There is a drape behind the figure. The sitter is shown holding a sheet of paper in his left hand and is reading out a message with his index finger thrust out magisterially. The fur is painstakingly rendered.

7. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (394, Plate 206):

Portrait of a man with a dog and a monkey, not in a perfect state of preservation. Like several other panels in this group, it was formerly carried under van Scorel's oeuvre with little dispute. There is a drape behind the figure, where the monkey is perched. A small dog is tucked into the sitter's doublet, only head and forepaws showing. It is not easy to fathom this portrait of what looks like a scholarly charlatan with his serio-comic arrogance and pedantically admonitory index finger. Perhaps he was a court jester⁶. The flat and angular appearance is at least in part due to the condition of the panel.

This does not exhaust the body of portraits rightly given to Vermeyen. I deliberately leave aside portraits of Hapsburg princes, especially Charles V and Ferdinand, because they are of only slight merit, being largely workshop productions and old replicas, apt only to distort our favourable view of one of the greatest, if not the greatest portraitist practising his craft in the Netherlands around 1530.

Benesch, however, has rightly drawn a portrait in the London National Gallery into this context (400, Plate 209). I saw a similar one, once again with the gathered drape, on the Paris art market (398, Plate 208). Another male portrait, also by Vermeyen, has turned up on the Berlin market (397, Plate 208). I further mention a fine portrait in the Northbrook Park collection, although I am not absolutely certain of its authorship (396).

Vermeyen's other surviving works leave an impression less favourable than do these portraits, which so sensitively capture the personalities of men of stature in surprisingly monumental fashion. There are the tapestry cartoons of the Tunis expedition in Vienna, and some painted compositions have also been considered as possible works of Vermeyen, with some justification⁷. Lastly, there are some quite remarkable etchings, little known on account of their rarity. All these works add up to a brilliant, if contradictory picture, for the cartoons, in a somewhat

6. He is certainly not the anatomist Andreas Vesalius, as Benesch assumed, from an inscription on a copy of the painting. Born in 1514, the famous physician was only 45 when Vermeyen died. Besides, his appearance was quite different.

7. Cf. Steinbart, *Marburger Jahrbuch*, Vol. 6, pp. 1 ff.

vacuous Classicist style, are strongly reminiscent of Pieter Coeck, while the etchings are by an inspired artist who obviously delighted in exotic grandeur and savagery. We are well-informed on the origin of the cartoons⁸, and we learn that Vermeyen, in doing them, required the collaboration of competent assistants. This was about 1546⁹.

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An altarpiece with shutters in the Brussels museum (388, Plates 202-204), built around a *Raising of Lazarus* and with Jean Micault as the donor, was claimed long ago for Vermeyen, with convincing arguments; but it is a rather tired academic piece, probably done at a late stage, around 1550, and it evokes a picture of the artist's compositional skill that is far from favourable. There is a *Holy Family by a Fire* in the Vienna museum 1461 which is startlingly related to Vermeyen's lighting effects and his signed etchings. Evidently by the same hand is a *Christ Visiting Martha and Mary* that has turned up on the Berlin art market. Some time ago, Hymans published an *Entombment* in the Arras Museum, which he attributed to Vermeyen. But I find I cannot follow him¹⁰.

As a depicter of proud and powerful men, Vermeyen emerges as a follower of Gossart and a precursor of Anthonis Mor.

8. Cf. H. Goebel, *Wandteppiche, Die Niederlande*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 419 f.

9. The design for a tapestry with the insignia of the Regent Maria is authenticated as having been done by Vermeyen, cf. Goebel, *loc. cit.*, p. 420, Fig. 475.

10. Reproduced in *Marburger Jahrbuch*... Vol. 6, p. 22.

Supplement to Jan C. Vermeyen

89

One should always be suspicious of portraits of sovereigns, hence I left aside the portraits of Charles V, Ferdinand and the Regent Maria, which are properly attributed to Vermeyen. It is documented¹ that this master at the instance of the Regent Maria, in Innsbruck or Augsburg and in 1530, painted her illustrious relations—the emperor, the king of Rome and Queens Anna and Maria. These were probably copied in his workshop many times and copies of various degrees of merit have turned up. They all display Vermeyen's characteristic style, notably in the vigorous postures of the hands.

The best portraits of Charles and Ferdinand known to me, done about 1530 and possibly by Vermeyen, include one of the emperor (Plate 214A) that reached the London art dealer Spink from the hands of Lord Sackville; also a King Ferdinand, a picture that reached the Dutch art dealer Bachstitz from the Auspitz collection 1471.

From Volume xiv

1. J. Houdoy, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1872, Vol. 2, pp. 517-518. Cf. Glück, *Oesterreichisches Jahrbuch*, n.s. vol. 7, 1933, pp. 183 ff.

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF THE MAGDALENE

1. (Plate 1) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Annunciation*. On the shutters, the donor Simon du Quesnoy and his wife. Brussels museum, No. 555 (80 × 67.5—28.5, curved top). • Inv. No. 1330; 80 × 67.5—81.5 × 28.5 cm.

2. (Plate 2) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, No. 459 (86 × 81—41). • Now in a private collection, Great Britain.

2A. (Plate 2) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. On the shutters, saints and donors (coats of arms). Schleif collection, Berlin (35 × 25—11, round top). • Present location unknown.

3. (Plate 3) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Resurrection*. Left, *Christ in Emmaus*; right, *Christ and St. Thomas*; versos, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and a donor couple (coats of arms). Art market, London (L. Douglas, 1911; 87 × 72—30, curved top). • After 1949 on the art market, Zurich (Schulthess gallery).

4. (Plate 4) *Altarpiece with shutters, Virgin and Child* in half-length. On each shutter, a female saint with a clerical and a secular donatrix. Art market, The Hague (Hermesen, 1925, 39 × 24—11, round top, the original frame, with the arms almost obliterated). The Virgin apparently done after Simon Marmion. • On the versos, *St. John the Baptist, The Magdalene*. Present location unknown.

a. *The Virgin* in half-length alone. Private collection, Turin. • In 1934 in the Scagliotto collection, New York.

5. (Plate 4) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child* in half-length, after Rogier. The shutters are by another hand. Formerly in the Hohenzollern collection, Sigmaringen (the centrepiece, 42 × 28). Exhibited at A.S. Drey in New York, 1928. • New in the Archbald van Beuren collection, New York; 32.5 × 20.5—42 × 15 cm.

6. (Plate 5) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child with St. Francis*, in half-length. On the shutters, saints and donors. Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini, Genoa. The Virgin, possibly harking back to Rogier van der Weyden, already appears in a similar version in an engraving by the Master of the Banderoles (about 1480). The motive was also used by van Orley, and by the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene on more than one occasion (1471).

7. (Plate 5) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child* in half-length. On the shutters, *Sts. Catherine and Barbara*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 22 (49 × 34—15, curved top). The Virgin as in No. 6. • No. 380.

8. (Plate 6) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child*. Left, *Christ*; right, *St. Helena* with a clerical donatrix (coats of arms). Art market, Lucerne (1923, 40 × 27.5—13). • Now in a private collection, Germany; 42 × 30—14 cm.

9. (Plate 6) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Left, *St. Christopher* with a donor; right, *St. Catherine* with a donatrix. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (82 × 64—26). • Present location unknown.

10. (Plates 7–9). *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Legend of the Magdalene*.

a. *The Magdalene Washing the Feet of Christ*. Budapest museum, No. 690 (87.5 × 70).

b. *The Raising of Lazarus*. Copenhagen museum, No. 236 (126 × 115). a and b originally constituted the centrepiece of this triptych. • Inv. Sp. 717; 129 × 117 cm.

c. *The Magdalene Hunting*. Figdor collection, Vienna, Berlin auction (122 × 74). Interior of the left shutter. • Subsequently in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, No. 2128; 122 × 76.5 cm. Destroyed in 1945.

d. *The Magdalene Preaching*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 402 (122 × 74). Interior of the right shutter.

e. *St. Louis and Christ the Gardner* (?) with a donor. Schwerin museum, No. 748 (121 × 75). • Inv. No. G. 196.

f. *Sts. Magdalene and Margaret* with the donor's wife and daughter. Schwerin museum, No. 748 (121 × 75). e and f are the versos of the shutters. See p. 13. • Inv. No. G. 198.

11. (Plate 10) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, Thomas Isaacq and his wife* with their name saints (1481). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 346 (91 × 23 each). The donor, called 'Toison d'Or', was *roi d'armes de la Toison d'Or* (died in 1531 or 1540). See p. 7. • Cat. No. 1538. N. 2; 91 × 29 cm.

12. (Plate 10) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, Sts. Dominic and Anthony* with donors. Art market, Cologne (Bornheim, 1930, 35 × 11 each). Versos, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. • Present location unknown.

13. (Plate 11) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*. Left, *Christ* with a donor couple, Philippe Hannock and the late Maria Colissone. Right, *St. Charlemagne* with Charles de Clercq and Anne Hannock. Verso—in grisaille—*Ecce Homo*. Art market, London (Dowdeswells, 1911, 86 × 47.5 each). Charles de Clercq held high office in Mechlin. Done about 1520. • The rectos are now in the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey, donated in 1948 by Mr. Robert Badenhop, Acc. Nos. 48.507 A, C; 87.5 × 47.5 cm each. The present location of the versos is unknown.

14. *Left Shutter of an Altarpiece of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*. Melbourne museum. See p. 14, and Vol. IV, No. 49, Plate 52. • 83 × 36 cm.
15. (Plate 12) *The Annunciation*. Landesmuseum, Münster, No. 158 (34 × 18.5) Verso, a nun as the donatrix. Inscribed SO. RKA. Na Vand Stoct. P'FESSIE NONE. A°. XV. XX. DIE. XXIII JUNII. See p. 14.
16. (Plate 12) *The Taking of Christ*, with a clerical donatrix. H. Haro collection Paris. Auctioned in 1911, No. 5 (122 × 66). Later in private ownership, Brussels. • Subsequently in the Lyndhurst collection, Brussels; 123 × 64 cm.
17. (Plate 12) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam (25 × 19). • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inv. No. 2477.
18. (Plate 13) *The Lamentation*. Art market, London (1931, 60.5 × 66, curved top). • In 1931 on the art market, London (Rosenbaum).
- 18A. (Plate 13) *The Lamentation*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1933, 83 × 61.5 round top.). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 4th April 1975, No. 25.
19. (Plate 14) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Among the very large number of mediocre workshop copies, not including the many that have lately turned up on the art market, I mention only a few examples: Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, Nos. 133, 134 (1491); Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, Clemens collection (particularly old-fashioned in style). Reproduced here is a panel that came to my attention on the art market, New York (Reinhardt).
20. (Plate 14) *The Virgin Enthroned*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 13 (46 × 29). • No. 381; 46.5 × 29.5 cm.
- 20A. (Plate 17) *The Virgin with St. Bernard*. Fr. Sarre collection, Berlin (27 × 37). • In 1952 in the H. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam; now in a private collection, Amsterdam.
21. (Plate 15) *The Holy Family Indoors*. Antwerp museum, No. 948 (68 × 53). • 65 × 52 cm.
- 21A. (Plate 16) *Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl*. Historical Society, New York. Reproduced in *Art in America*, Vol. 23 (1935), facing p. 1 (J. Held). • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, in 1971. Now in a private collection, London; 112 × 81.5 cm.
22. (Plate 17) *Mater Dolorosa*. Art market, London (L. Douglas, 30 × 20.5). • Now in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, Theodore T. and Mary G. Ellis collection, Acc. No. 1940.43; 39 × 29 cm.

23. (Plate 17) *The Virgin with the Dead Christ* in bust-length, after Gerard David (Vol. vi, No. 203). Private collection, Genoa. • Present location unknown.
24. (Plate 17) *The Magdalene* in bust-length. National Gallery, London ('French School'), No. 2614 (36 × 24). • 37 × 27 cm.
- Winthrop collection, New York. • Now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Acc. No. 1943-196; 30.5 × 20.5 cm.
 - Private ownership, Paris. • In 1947 in a private collection, Bordeaux.
 - Private ownership, Basle. • Present location unknown.
 - van Gelder collection, Uccle (Brussels). A replica of approximately equal merit to a, b and c. • Present location unknown.
25. (Plate 18) *Scene from the Legend of St. Romuald*. Cathedral, Mechlin (110 × 73). Donated by Jean Micault, Paymaster of the Order of the Golden Fleece (died in 1539). On the sequence as a whole, see Vol. iv, No. 106.
26. (Plate 19) *St. Ursula Taking Leave of Her Father*. Art market, Berlin (Bottewieser, 1930, 87.5 × 70.5, curved top). • Now in the Hirsch collection, Buenos Aires. • In 1961 still there.
- 26A. (Plate 20) *Adolph of Cleves* in bust-length, about 1490. Art market, London (Thomas Harris, 1934, 31 × 21). • In 1945 on the art market, London (Arcade gallery).
27. (Plate 20) *Charles V* in bust-length, about 1520. Dr. Burgers auction, Lucerne, 1932. • Auctioned in Zurich, 7th-11th May 1935, No. 2269; 29.5 × 20.5 cm.
28. (Plate 20) *Christian II of Denmark*, holding his own portrait in miniature. Unidentified Copenhagen museum (31 × 22). • Nationalhistoriske Museum, Frederiksborg Castle, Hillerød (Denmark), Inv. No. A 4371.
- Collection of Dr. Boveri, Zurich (35 × 27). A free replica of equal merit. • Present location unknown.
29. (Plate 21) *Ferdinand of Austria* in bust-length. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (30 × 25). A copy after Vermeyen. See p. 85. • Present location unknown.
- 29A. (Plate 21) *Louis XII*, King of France. Ziethen auction, Munich, 1934 (32 × 20, round top). • The auction took place on 23rd September 1934, No. 41.
30. (Plate 21) *Philip the Fair* as a child, in bust-length. Dated 1483. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 1175 (29 × 23). • A portrait of Margaret of Austria, then three years old, in the Versailles museum, with a French inscription and the date of 1483 was apparently done as a pendant to the early portrait of Philip the Fair. The writing in the inscription corresponds entirely to that in the

brother's portrait. What is particularly significant is the fact that the master was in contact with the Brussels court as early as 1483. • Inv. No. 3096; 29 × 20 cm.

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31. (Plate 22) *Philip the Fair* in half-length, holding a falcon (about 1490). Auctioned at Christie's, London, 22nd February 1929 (26 × 17). • Now in the Maison de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris, on loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. RF 1969-18; 27 × 17.5 cm.

a. Count of Montferrand collection, Paris. A free replica. • Present location unknown.

32. (Plate 22) *Philip the Fair* in bust-length (about 1500). Several specimen, e.g. in the Louvre 1501, in Windsor 1511, in the Staatliche Galerie, Vienna 1521, etc. The master's style comes out most sharply in a version on the London art market (Spink) in 1934 (26 × 17) 1531. See Vol. IV, No. 83.

33. (Plate 24) *Margaret of Austria* in bust-length. Louvre, Paris. At a youthful age, about 1505. The sitter is identified by an inscription on the verso. See p. 16. • Inv. No. RF 2259; 24.5 × 15.5 cm.

34. (Plate 23) *Mary of Hungary* in half-length, in widow's weeds (about 1528). Art market, London (Savile Gallery, 1929, 34 × 24). • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Inv. No. 54.1941.

35. (Plate 24) *Portrait of a Princess*, one of the sisters of Charles V. Figdor collection, Vienna (auctioned in Berlin in 1930, No. 49, 22.5 × 19). Other portraits of young princesses, more or less characteristic of the master's style, are to be found at Hampton Court and the Augsburg museum 1541. • The auction took place on 29th September 1930.

36. (Plate 24) *Portrait of a Gentleman* in bust-length. Art market, Vienna (Silbermann, 1934, 39.5 × 27, round top). • This male portrait was sold to a Chicago collector in 1936. It is dated 1523 on the original frame and confirms that the master enjoyed a very long career, without any basic change in his style. • Present location unknown.

36A. (Plate 24) *Portrait of a Bearded Gentleman*, in bust-length, about 1520. Art market, London (Assher & Welker, 1931, 24 × 18). • Present location unknown.

37. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, holding a ruler, in bust-length with a landscape background. Collection of Count Nostitz, Prague (43.5 × 31). • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. DO 4170.

38. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Knight*, in bust-length. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, No. 410 (30 × 20).

39. *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*, in half-length. Art market, Paris (Mori).
● Present location unknown.

40. (Plate 25) *Portrait of a Knight in Armour*. Akademie, Düsseldorf. ● Now in the
Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 1320; 24.5 × 20 cm.

a. Private ownership, Vienna (40 × 28.5). A free replica of equal merit. ● Ex-
hibited at Brachot, Brussels, 24th February-15th March 1966, No. 74.

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41. (Plate 26) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, in bust-length. Ed. Simon collection, Berlin
(auctioned in 1929, 38 × 27, round top). ● G. Oberlaender auction, New York, at
Parke-Bernet, 25th-26th May 1939, No. 216.

42. (Plate 27) *Portrait of an Old Man* with folded hands. Art market, Amsterdam
(Goudstikker, 1928, 33 × 22). ● Now in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede,
Cat. No. 23; 30 × 22 cm.

43. (Plate 27) *Portrait of a Gentleman* in bust-length. Dijon museum. ● No. 115;
21 × 18 cm.

44. (Plate 27) *Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece*. Brussels museum, No. 720
(41 × 28). The head is not in a perfect state of preservation. Attributed in the
catalogue to Jean de Luxembourg (died in 1508). ● Inv. No. 3827; 41.5 × 28.5 cm.

45. (Plate 27) *Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece*. Legers auction, Paris, 1931,
No. 989 (30 × 28). ● The date of the auction was 18th-26th May 1931.

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF THE FEMALE HALF-LENGTHS

46. (Plate 28) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Nativity*. Left, *The Adoration of the
Magi*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple* 1551. Strasbourg museum, No. 62 (68
× 61-27). From the Doetsch collection, London, auctioned in 1895. ● Inv. No.
366.

47. (Plate 29) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Gemäldegalerie,
Berlin (J. Simon collection), No. 1863 (113 × 69-28, curved top). ● Now in the
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

48. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Collection of Sir H. H.
Howorth, London (110 × 66-27, curved top). ● Now in the Werth collection,
Elberfeld, following the auction at Graupe, Berlin, in 1936. ● Present location
unknown.

49. (Plate 30) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Calvary*. Turin museum, No. 192
(121 × 155 overall, curved top). ● Galleria Sabauda.

50. (Plate 31) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. Church of S. Salvador, Ubeda (Spain) 1561.

51. (Plate 31) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*, in half-length. With saints on the shutters. Figdor collection, Vienna, auctioned in Berlin in 1930, No. 45 (24 × 17—9, round top). • The date of the auction was 29th September 1930.

52. (Plate 32) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with clerics as donors on the shutters. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (Clemens collection). • Inv. No. A 1063.

53. (Plate 32) *Diptych. Christ Giving the Blessing; The Virgin at Prayer*. Prouvost collection, Roubaix, auctioned at Muller, Amsterdam, in 1927. • The auction took place on 27th October 1927, Nos. 416, 417 (rounded top).

54. (Plate 33) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Baptism of Christ; St. Ildefonso*. Art market, Paris (Jonas, 1930, 75 × 24, each). • Present location unknown.

55. (Plate 33) *The Annunciation*. Art market, Berlin (L. Blumenreich, 1926, 36 × 25). • Now in the Hermsen collection, The Hague; 39.5 × 26.5 cm.

56. (Plate 34) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 81 (65 × 68). • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (depot), Inv. No. WAF 585; 64 × 68 cm.

57. (Plate 35) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1919 (54 × 36).

58. (Plate 35) *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John*. Rotterdam museum. • Cat. No. 1919; 79 × 49 cm.

59. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*. Antwerp museum, No. 181 (24 × 19). Signed *Joannes Malbodius Invenit* 1571.

a. Art market, Berlin (J. & S. Goldschmidt, 1933, 24 × 19). An exact replica of equal merit, signed in the same manner 1581. • Present location unknown.

60. (Plate 35) *The Deposition*. Van Gelder collection, Uccle (Brussels). • Present location unknown.

61. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, on a dark neutral background. Such panels, of small dimensions, have turned up in large numbers, mostly in Spain, whence they have reached the Paris art market. I mention the following examples: Lázaro collection, Madrid (several specimens) 1591; art market, Paris (Dr. Mersch) 1601; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (from the de Stuers collection) 1611; art market, Paris (L. Moreno) 1621; art market, Berlin (van Diemen) 1631; Cremer collection, Dortmund 1641; Convento de Santa Ana, Avila; the Hermi-

tage, Leningrad; C.S. auction, Paris, 1923, No. 57 (1651; Hanover museum 1661; art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1932).

62. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Wiesbaden museum, No. 11. Exceptionally almost life-size. • Inv. No. M 43; 87.5 × 61.5 cm.

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63. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, against a light background. Art market, Berlin (Perls, 1928, 19.5 × 14.5). From the Pallavicini collection, auctioned in London in 1927 (671). • 49.5 × 37 cm.

64. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child* in knee-length, with a landscape background. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1913, 43 × 28). • Present location unknown.

65. (Plate 37) *Virgin and Child* in knee-length, with a landscape background. The Hermitage, Leningrad (50 × 40). • Inv. No. 4090; 53 × 42.5 cm.

66. (Plate 37) *Virgin and Child* in knee-length, with a landscape background. Formerly in the von Ferstel collection, Vienna (75 × 40, curved top). • Present location unknown.

67. (Plate 37) *Virgin and Child* with a landscape background. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Marlay Bequest, No. 71 (39 × 32.5). • Inv. No. FMS 2154.

68. (Plate 37) *Virgin and Child*, in knee-length, with a landscape background. At the right, a sculptured figure on a fountain. Art market, Paris (Dr. Mersch, 1924). • In 1924 on the art market, Amsterdam (F. Muller, cat. No. 21); 61 × 41 cm.

69. (Plate 38) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, indoors. Art market, London (Dowdeswells, 28 × 22). • 71 × 56 cm (1681). Present location unknown.

70. (Plate 38) *Virgin and Child* outdoors. Collection of Count d'Ursel, Bruges. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 266 (82 × 57.5). The landscape is very unusual, with a road leading away into the distance, and may have been added by another master. • Present location unknown.

71. (Plate 38) *Virgin and Child Resting on the Flight into Egypt*. Copenhagen museum, No. 238b (64.5 × 64). • Inv. No. 1743. Same as No. 75.

72. *Virgin and Child* in knee-length with an angel. Mexico museum.

73. (Plate 38) *Virgin and Child* in knee-length with an angel. Herbert Lehman collection, New York (60 × 52).

74. (Plate 39) *The Holy Family*. National Gallery, London, No. 720 (81 × 62). • 82 × 62.5 cm (curved top).

75. (Plate 38) *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Copenhagen museum, No. 238b (64.5 × 64). The landscape in the style of Patenier. • Inv. No. 1743. Same as No. 71.

76. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Historical Society, New York.

77. (Plate 39) *The Flight into Egypt*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 667 (38.5 × 51.5). The rich landscape, in Patenier's style, may be by another hand. • Inv. No. 950.

78. (Plate 40) *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 389 (82.5 × 58, arched top). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 264.

79. (Plate 40) *St. Jerome Outdoors*. Dr. Störi auction, Zurich, 1929, No. 279 (38.5 × 29). • Present location unknown.

80. (Plate 40) *St. John on the Island of Patmos*. National Gallery, London, No. 717 (36 × 24). The landscape in the style of Patenier.

81. (Plate 41) *St. Catherine with a book*, in half-length. Brera, Milan, No. 616 (46 × 36).

82. (Plate 41) *The Magdalene* holding the unguent jar with both hands, in half-length. Schevitch collection, Paris, auctioned in 1906, No. 7 (29 × 23). • Present location unknown.

83. (Plate 41) *The Magdalene* in half-length. Collection of Prince Salm-Salm, Anholt castle (53 × 40). • Inv. No. 445.

84. *The Magdalene* in half-length. Imperial Palace, Berlin. Wickhoff mentions a painting of this description, supposedly in the Pignatelli collection, Naples, but I have not seen it. • Present location unknown.

85. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene* holding a book, in half-length. Louvre, Paris, No. 2203 B (54 × 42). • Inv. No. 2156.

86. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene*, thumbing through a book, in half-length. Collection of Earl Spencer, Althorp. • 56 × 42 cm. Present location unknown.

87. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene* holding a book, in half-length. Von Berl collection, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

88. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene* holding a book with both hands. Mrs. E. Bayer collection, Paris, auctioned in 1933, No. 12 (50 × 37). • Now in the Hirsch collection, Buenos Aires.

89. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene* holding a book with both hands, in half-length. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer, 1930, 52 × 37). Formerly in the Ruhl and the Vieweg collection, Brunswick. • Present location unknown.

a. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 114. On copper, 40 × 27). A copy. • Auctioned at Helbing, Munich, 24th November 1933, No. 10.

90. (Plate 42) *The Magdalene* holding a book, in half-length. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer, 1915, 54 × 40). • In 1945 in a private collection, Haarlem.

91. (Plate 43) *The Magdalene* writing, in half-length. De Ridder collection, Frankfurt, auctioned in 1924, No. 39 (54 × 42). • The date of the auction was 2nd June 1924.

a. Czartoriski Museum, Cracow. A free replica. • Inv. No. 185; 54 × 40 cm.

92. (Plate 43) *The Magdalene* writing in a book. Noel collection, Paris, auctioned in 1924, No. 17 (36 × 27). • Present location unknown.

93. (Plate 43) *The Magdalene* writing, holding a sandcaster in her left hand. Art market, Paris (Steinmeyer, 1912, 43 × 33). • Auctioned at Charpentier, Paris, 3rd December 1959, No. 13;

94. (Plate 43) *The Magdalene* in half-length, writing a letter. Baron Thyssen collection, Rohoncz castle (41 × 29). • Now in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, on loan from the Bentinck-Thyssen collection.

a. Art market, Paris (Dr. Mersch, 40 × 30). A replica. • Auctioned at Fischer, Lucerne, 26th July 1926, No. 31.

95. *The Magdalene* in half-length, writing a letter. Art market, Lucerne (Fischer, 1930, 42 × 29). • Present location unknown.

96. (Plate 43) *The Magdalene* writing, in half-length. M. Goldschmidt-Rothschild collection, Frankfurt (52 × 40). • In 1972 on the art market, Cologne (Abels); 54.5 × 42 cm.

a. E. Pacully collection, Paris. A free replica of equal merit (54.5 × 41). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 265. • Present location unknown.

97. *The Magdalene* writing, in half-length. De Nerée collection, Babberich (28 × 22.5). Exhibited in Utrecht in 1894, No. 387. • Present location unknown.

98. (Plate 44) *The Magdalene* playing the lute. Wedells collection, Hamburg (36.5 × 26). • Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Inv. No. 760; 37.5 × 27 cm.

99. (Plate 44) *The Magdalene* playing the lute. Provinzialmuseum, Hanover, No. 302 (27 × 20). • Now in the A. de Witte collection, Courtrai (Belgium); 27.5 × 20.5 cm.

100. *The Magdalene* playing the lute, in half-length. Art market, Berlin (Ball, 1931, 54 × 42). • Present location unknown.
101. (Plate 44) *The Magdalene* playing the lute, in half-length. Rotterdam museum, No. 280 (56.5 × 43.5). • Inv. No. 1505.
102. (Plate 44) *The Magdalene* playing the lute, in half-length. Weber collection, Hamburg, auctioned in Berlin, in 1912 (37 × 25.5). • The date of the auction was 20th-22nd February 1912.
103. (Plate 44) *The Magdalene* playing the lute. Turin museum, No. 366 (53 × 38). • Galleria Sabauda, Inv. No. 40; 43 × 30 cm.
104. (Plate 45) *The Magdalene* playing the clavichord. Poznan museum (Raczinski collection). • Inv. No. MO 115; 43 × 33 cm.
105. (Plate 45) *The Magdalene* playing the spinet. Private collection, Prague (27.5 × 20.5). • Present location unknown.
106. (Plate 45) *Three Women Musicians*. Collection of Count Harrach, Vienna, No. 44 (40 × 33). Acquired in Madrid in 1678; exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 263. • Now in the Graf Harrachsche Gemäldegalerie, Rohrau Castle; 60 × 53 cm with the additions 1691.
- a. Ducal Castle, Meiningen. A free replica. • In 1955 on the art market, Brussels (R. Finck).
- b. The Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 457 (53 × 38). A free replica. • Cat. 1958 No. 435.
107. (Plate 47) *Head of a Woman*, a fragment. National Gallery, London, No. 721 (25 × 18) 1701.
108. (Plate 46) *Venus and Cupid; Neptune and Thetis*. Two pendants. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Nos. 645, 2082 (43 × 31—40 × 36). After engravings by Caraglio. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen museen, Berlin-Dahlem.
109. (Plate 47) *The Judgment of Paris*. Prouvost collection, Roubaix, auctioned in Amsterdam in 1927. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. • On loan to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 846; 10 × 15.5 cm.
110. (Plate 46) *Lucretia* stabbing herself, in knee-length. Ed. Goldschmidt collection, Berlin. Formerly in the Em. Goldschmidt collection, Frankfurt, auctioned in Berlin, 1909, No. 24. Some imitations or copies of this composition have turned up from time to time. • Present location unknown.

111. (Plate 46) *Lucretia* stabbing herself, in knee-length. Galleria Colonna, Rome (44 × 28).

112. (Plate 46) *Head of Lucretia*, a fragment. De Ganay collection, Paris, auctioned in 1912, No. 54 (18.5 × 14). • Present location unknown.

113. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Budapest museum, No. 677 (73 × 56). Noteworthy for its large format, the posture evidently following an Italian model.

Among the few other portraits occasionally attributed to this master, a pair in the Staatliche Galerie, Vienna 1711 and a female portrait in the Liechtenstein collection there 1721 fail to convince.

CATALOGUE C: THE PAINTINGS OF JEAN BELLEGAMBE

114. (Plates 48-50) *Polyptych of Anchin*. Church of Notre-Dame, Douai (162 × 75—112 × 38—162 × 78). *The Holy Trinity, The Virgin, St. John the Baptist, Apostles and Saints; Christ Pointing to the Cross, The Virgin; Abbot Carlos Coguin with Charlemagne and Monks* 1731. Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 25. Cf p. 22. Reproduced, as are most of Bellegambe's works, in the book by Dehaisnes. • Now in the Musée 'La Chartreuse', Douai, Inv. No. 2175.

115. (Plate 51) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Cathedral of Arras (135 × 78—39, not including the elaborately carved frame). Dated 1528 *mars*.

116. (Plate 52) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Preparations for the Crucifixion*. Left, *St. Anthony*; right, *St. Roch*. Cathedral of Arras (110 × 72—31, not including the elaborately carved frame).

117. (Plate 53) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Lamentation*; versos, *The Battle of Constantine*, and *Constantine with the Holy Cross*. Speck von Sternburg collection, Lützenschen (120 × 70—32). • Now in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Inv. No. 1551; 118 × 86.5—112 × 43.5 cm.

118. (Plate 54) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. Left, *The Mass of Pope Gregory*; right, *a donatrix with a saint*; verso, *Christ the Gardener*. Warsaw museum (106 × 64—29, curved top). • Inv. No. 19; 130 × 80—40 cm.

119. (Plates 56, 57) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned with donors and saints*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, Friedsam Collection (99 × 60—24, curved top). Cf. de Mély, 'Le Retable du Cellier', *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, 1908, pp. 97 ff. Signed BJ 1533. • Acc. No. 32.100.102; 100.5 × 61—70 × 24 cm. Versos, *St. Bernard*; *The Virgin and Child*.

120. (Plate 55) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Trinity*, with the donors Leonhard Coëne, Katharina Peters and Jacques Coëne, abbot of Marchiennes. Lille museum, No. 33 (105 × 108—30). Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 24.

121. (Plates 58, 59) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Judgment*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 641 (212 × 178—82, round top). • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East); 222 × 178—82 cm. Three-lobed top.

122. (Plate 60) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Fountain of Salvation*. Verso, two angels with coats of arms. Lille museum, No. 32 (80 × 57—25, curved top). The arms are those of the convent Anchin, and of Abbot Coguin. Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 23. Cf. p. 23. • Inv. No. 832; 87 × 57—25 cm.

123. (Plate 61) *Diptych. Virgin and Child*; a monk in a white surplice with St. Bernard. Versos: Abbess Jeanne de Boubais (according to the arms). The figures in half-length (43 × 28 each, round top). Art market, New York (Reinhardt). A similar diptych is in the Baron M. de Rothschild collection, Paris. • Now in the Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Acc. No. 1970.36; 40 × 25 cm, each.

124. (Plate 62) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. Sixtus IV Proclaiming the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*; the Donor Jean Poitier; versos: *St. Joachim's Sacrifice, St. Anne Distributing Alms*. Douai museum, No. 23 (350 × 92, each). The centrepiece has disappeared, but a copy of its lost inscriptions has been preserved. Done by the master: signed and dated 1526. Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 26.

125. (Plate 62) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*. The donor's family with Sts. William and Francis. H. Haro auction, Paris, 1911, No. 34 (102 × 33, each, curved top). Exhibited in Paris in 1904 at the *Primitifs Français* show, No. 130. • Now in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbey of Chaalis (174).

126. *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*, showing the martyrdom of saints. Private ownership, Paris (175). • Salavin auction, Paris, 5th December 1973, Nos. 46, 47.

127. (Plate 63) *Two Panels with Scenes from the Legend of St. Agatha (?)*. *The Presentation of the Saint*. Fr. Lippmann collection, Berlin, auctioned in 1912, No. 46 (60 × 44.5). *The Martyrdom of St. Agatha*. V. Bloch collection, Vienna (60 × 44.5). Auctioned in Lucerne in 1934. • The Presentation of the Saint: present location unknown; *The Martyrdom of St. Agatha* was exhibited at Wildenstein, London, March 1962, No. 26.

128. (Plate 63) *The Nativity*. Art market, Paris (Sedelmeyer, 1911, 76 × 58, round top). • Present location unknown.

129. (Plate 63) *The Lamentation*. C. N. Buzzard collection, Paris. • Present location unknown.

130. (Plate 64) *The Virgin with the Protecting Cloak* and monks and nuns. Verso : *The Last Judgment*. Douai museum, No. 408 (84 × 71). Inscribed on the frame : *dame Yzabel de malefiance*. Done in 1506 for the abbey of Flines. Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 283.

131. (Plate 64) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Brussels museum, No. 29 (93 × 61.5 curved top). • Inv. No. 2550. 103

132. (Plate 64) *The Virgin Enthroned* with two angels. Art market, Amsterdam (Hoogendijk, 1927, 40.5 × 25). • In 1957 on the art market, The Hague (Nystad).

133. (Plate 65) *The Holy Family*. Brussels museum, No. 843 (92 × 67). Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 191, attributed to Ysenbrant. Rather different in style. • Inv. No. 4160.

134. (Plate 66) *St. Adrian*. Louvre, Paris, No. 13a (75 × 32). • Inv. No. M1817.

135. (Plate 66) *The Conversion of St. Paul*. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1927, 100 × 117). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 332. • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 10th July 1968, No. 84.

136. (Plate 67) *The Martyrdom of St. Peter*. Douai museum. Reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 8, 1932, p. 219. I never saw the *Raising of Lazarus* in the Cathedral of Douai, mentioned in this article. • Inv. No. 125; 128 × 123 cm.

137. (Plate 66) *Abbot Charles Coguin as a Donor*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, Friedsam bequest (66 × 28). • No. 32.100.125; 68 × 29 cm.

138. *Sirene*, tondo. Douai museum. Reproduced in Lafond, *Hieronymus Bosch*, facing p. 64. • Lost during World War 1.

CATALOGUE D: THE PAINTINGS OF DIRK VELLERT

139. (Plates 68) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Flight into Egypt*. Rotterdam museum (106 × 70—31, curved top). From the Lippmann collection in Berlin and the von Auspitz collection in Vienna. See p. 30. • Inv. No. 1959.

140. (Plate 69) *The Nativity*. Lille museum, No. 577 (87 × 63). Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918, No. 359. See p. 30.

For the paintings attributed to this master by Baldass, cf. *Belvedere*, 1922, pp. 162 ff.

CATALOGUE E: THE PAINTINGS OF PIETER COECK

Many of the panels of lesser quality, done in the master's workshop or by imitators, have been omitted.

- 104 141. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz, present whereabouts unknown (122 × 90—35, curved top). • Present location unknown.

142. (Plates 72, 73) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple*. Church of St. Plechelmus, Oldenzaal. • 106 × 69—28 cm.

A large number of mediocre altarpieces and devotional panels in this style have been preserved.

143. (Plate 74) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*, with mourners and soldiers. On the shutters, *St. Paul* with a donor, and a sainted pope with the donor's wife (1761). Coats of arms. Auction in Amsterdam, 4th June 1929, No. 105 (122 × 80—35). Formerly in the Dollfus collection, Paris. Cf. p. 37. • In the W.M. Mensing auction, at Muller, Amsterdam, 15th November 1938, No. 21; 122 × 81.5—123 × 36 cm.

144. (Plate 75) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Resurrection*. Right, Nebuchadnezzar; left, the prophet Jonas. Karlsruhe museum, No. 153 (71 × 56—23). Cf. p. 37. • 74 × 55—23 cm. Curved top (1771).

145. (Plate 76) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned*, with St. Louis and a holy bishop. National Gallery, London, No. 2606 (27 × 19—7). From the de Somzée and Salting collections. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 366. Done about 1527. Cf. p. 37. • 26.5 × 18.5—7 cm. Versos: *St. Anthony*, *St. James*; 27 × 9 cm, each.

a. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachofen Bequest (78 × 57, curved top). A copy of the centrepiece.

146. (Plate 77) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. James, St. John the Baptist* (1781, with the donor's family. Prado, Madrid, Nos. 1609, 1610 (112 × 44, each). • Versos: *St. George*, *St. Hadrian*; Cat. No. 1609 A, 1610 A.

147. (Plate 78) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. Christ before Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (reserve), No. 11 202 (83 × 63 cm each). • The panel with *Christ before Caiaphas* was destroyed during World War II; the one with *Christ before Pilate* is now in Schloss Grunewald, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 1 2029.

148. (Plate 78) *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1927, 49 × 84). Free after the Loggie by Raphael. • Now in the collection of Dr. Sternheim, Amsterdam. • Subsequently on the art market, Amsterdam (de Boer).

149. (Plate 79) *The Adoration of the Magi*, in half-length. Brussels museum, No. 591 (105 × 72, curved top). • Inv. No. 386.

a. (Plate 79) Utrecht museum, No. 505 (104 × 64.5). A free replica used as the centrepiece of a triptych. • Archiepiscopal museum, Inv. No. 56.

150. (Plate 79) *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Art Gallery, Glasgow, No. 561 (87.5 × 54). 105

151. (Plate 80) *The Last Supper*. Brussels museum, No. 107 (63.5 × 82). Dated 1531. Cf. p. 36, about replicas. • Inv. No. 1393.

152. (Plate 80) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachofen Bequest (110 × 78). • Inv. No. 1250; 109.5 × 79 cm.

a. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 131 (105 × 80, curved top). A replica of equal merit. • Returned to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East).

153. (Plate 83) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1933, 85 × 64). • In 1938 Hamburg, F. Burgers collection. Now in a private collection.

Among the large number of stylistically related panels, I single out this panel, done with particular care.

154. (Plate 82) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Darmstadt museum, No. 87 (55 × 42). Cf. p. 37. Removed from the museum, now on the Berlin art market. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland).

155. (Plate 81) *The Flight into Egypt*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 766 (112 × 70.5). Attributed to van Orley in an inventory of 1659. Alternately given to this master and, with greater justification, to Pieter Coeck. The landscape, diverging in style, may have been done by Jan or Henri Tons. Cf. p. 38. • Inv. No. 968.

156. (Plate 82). *St. Martin*, mounted. Private ownership, San Remo (96 × 68). • Now in the Damiano collection, Milan. • Present location unknown.

157. (Plate 83) *The Vision of Ezekiel*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 167 (91 × 68). First correctly attributed to Coeck by Baldass, cf. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1929/1930, pp. 205 ff. • Inv. No. 27.

157A. (Plate 83) *St. Servatius* (791, as patron of the tapestry weavers. Private ownership, Vienna. • In 1966 in the Georges Peltzer collection, Verviers (Belgium).

157B. (Plate 84) *Self-Portrait of Pieter Coeck with His Wife*. Kunsthau, Zurich, from private hands, Switzerland. • 50.5 × 59 cm.

CATALOGUE F: THE PAINTINGS OF MARINUS VAN
REYMER SWAELE

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158. (Plate 89) *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Baron Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (71 × 88). From the collection of the Earl of Northbrook. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 295. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Inv. No. 349.

a. (Plate 89) Antwerp museum, No. 425, Ertborn Collection (72 × 81). A copy with additions. • 72 × 106 cm.

b. (Plate 89) Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 234 (69.5 × 84). A copy.

159. (Plate 90) *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Ghent museum, No. 129 (117 × 134). Dated 14th May 1536. • Inv. No. s 86.

160. (Plate 90) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Collection of Freiherr von Twickel, Stovern (90.5 × 71). Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 165 (Plate 54 of the publication). • Present location unknown.

161. (Plate 91) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Prado, Madrid, No. 2101 (61 × 46).

o On the subject of the various St. Jeromes, cf. my article in *Pantheon*, February 1934, pp. 33 ff.

162. (Plate 92) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Prado, Madrid, No. 2100 (75 × 101). Signed: *Mdad me fecit A° 1521*. Cf. p. 40.

a. (Plate 92) Prado, Madrid, No. 21-B (80 × 108). Signed: *Marinus me fecit A° 1547*. • Cat. No. 2653.

b. (Plate 92) Douai museum, No. 234 (74 × 109). • 75 × 107 cm.

c. de Becker collection, Louvain (80.5 × 107.5). Signed: *Marinus me fecit 1541*. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 296. • Now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, No. 990; 78 × 107 cm.

d. Pallavicini auction, London, 1927 (75 × 105). • Pearson auction, Frankfurt, 12th July 1928, No. 66.

e. Auction at Giroux, Brussels, 1930 (81 × 110). • 10th March, 1930, No. 46.

f. Bamberg museum (63 × 79). Formerly in Schleissheim, No. 3041. • Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 876; 63 × 79 cm.

g. Academy, Madrid. Dated 1538. • No. 458. Signed.

h. Convent of the Black Sisters, Bruges.

Replicas are to be found also in the Valencia museum and the Seville academy.

163. (Plate 93). *St. Jerome* in half-length. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 574B (94 × 91). Free after Dürer's picture in Lisbon. Cf. p. 40. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East).

164. (Plate 93) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Private ownership, Genoa. • Present location unknown; 82.5 × 62.5 cm.

165. (Plate 93) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Auction at Helbing, Munich, June 1934 (90 × 65). Supposedly signed: *anno 28*. • The date of the auction was 15th June 1934, No. 430.

166. (Plate 93) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Hoffmann collection, Karlsruhe. • In 1943 in the E. Roniger collection, Davos-Dorf (Switzerland).

a. Baars-Bennert auction, Cologne, 1900 (100 × 125). A copy. • The date of the auction was 14th-15th May 1900, No. 82.

167. (Plate 95) *Two Tax-Gatherers*. Antwerp museum, No. 244, Ertborn collection (65 × 52).

There are more than 25 versions of this composition, of which none is signed and only one dated, 1552. Apart from the authentic but somewhat divergent specimen in the National Gallery, London (cf. following entry), the style of the master is most clearly expressed in the one in the Bologne museum (180). Most of the others (e.g. Windsor 1811, Munich Pinakothek 1821) are rather insipid and could have scarcely originated in the master's workshop. Cf. de Mély, 'Deux tableaux signés Corneille de Lyon', *Fondation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, Vol. 18, 1911.

168. (Plate 94) *Two Tax-Gatherers*. National Gallery, London, No. 944 (90 × 72). • 92.5 × 74.5 cm.

169. (Plate 95) *Two Tax-Gatherers with Peasants*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 139 (reserve, 108 × 118). Signed: *Marinus me fecit a° 1542*. • Inv. No. 718.

a. (Plate 95) Gerstel auction, Munich, 1909, No. 62 (91 × 115). A copy. • 2nd March 1909.

b. Art market, Paris (95 × 115). A copy. • Present location unknown.

170. (Plate 96) *The Banker and His Wife*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2102 (79 × 107). Signed: *Reymerswaele Marinus me pinxit 1538*. • Now on loan to the Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial.

a. (Plate 96) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 138 (67 × 103). Signed and dated . . 38. • Inv. No. 7.

b. (Plate 96) Nantes museum, No. 415 (79 × 125). Signed and dated 1538.

c. Copenhagen museum, No. 293 (84 × 118). Signed and dated 1540 (?). • Inv. No. SP 334; 86 × 115.5 cm.

d. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 812 (93.5 × 111.5). Signed and dated 1541.

e. Bargello Museum, Florence, Carrand collection. Signed. • Inv. No. 2058; 86 × 116.5 cm.

f. Formerly in the Hohenzollern collection, Sigmaringen (93 × 114). • In 1928 on the art market, New York (A.S. Drey); 89 × 114.5 cm.

g. Antwerp museum, Ertborn Collection, No. 567. A copy. • 80 × 113 cm.

171. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Formerly in the J. Porgès collection, Paris (63 × 46.5) 1831. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 242. • Now in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Inv. No. 2051; 64 × 47.5 cm.

172. (Plate 97) *Two Pendants. Christ; Mater Dolorosa*. Prado, Madrid, Nos. 1561, 1562 (44 × 35 each). With doubtful inscription *o. Quintini Metsys 1529*, an attribution that is not wholly convincing.

CATALOGUE G: THE PAINTINGS OF JAN VAN HEMESSEN

173. An Altarpiece with many panels, in the centre *Christ on the Cross* and *St. Jerome*. Art market, London (Th. Harris). • Present location unknown.

174. (Plate 98) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Calvary*. Collection of Count Shuvaloff, Leningrad (74 × 45—27). Exhibited in Leningrad in 1909, Nos. 240 in the 1910 publication of this exhibition, where it is attributed to a Spanish master. • Present location unknown.

175. (Plate 99) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Judgment*. On the shutters the donor Adrian Rockox with his family, on the versos Christ and saints. Church of St. James, Antwerp. Cf. *Revue de l'Art Flamand et Hollandais*, 1907, p. 5 (A.J. Wauters).

176. (Plate 100) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, with St. Roch and a holy hermit; versos: *Sts. Peter and Stephen*, in grisaille. Art market, Berlin (136 × 92—42, curved top). • Now in the Petit Palais, Paris, Inv. No. 2568; 136 × 93.5—115 × 43 cm.

177. *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, St. John the Baptist, The Magdalene*, in half-length. Orléans museum. • Inv. No. 1299-1300. Destroyed in 1940.

178. (Plate 101) *Jacob Giving His Blessing*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 170 (118 × 150). • Inv. No. 10.

179. (Plate 101) *Jacob Giving His Blessing*. Budapest museum, No. 676 (117 × 163). • Inv. No. 1049. Same composition as No. 178.

180. (Plate 101) *Jacob Giving His Blessing*. Österby, Sweden (150 × 189). Signed *Joannes de Hemessen pinxerat 1551*. Granberg inventory, Vol. I, No. 139, Plate 17. • Present location unknown.

181. (Plate 102) *Susanna and the Elders*. Traumann collection, Madrid, present whereabouts unknown. Dated 1543.

182. (Plate 102) *The Healing of Tobias*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2001 (140 × 172). Signed and dated 1555. • Inv. No. 1335.
183. (Plate 102) *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*. Nancy museum. Dated 1556. • Inv. No. 239; 171 × 224 cm.
184. (Plate 103) *The Prodigal Son*. Brussels museum, No. 217 (140 × 198). Signed *Joës de Hemessen pingebat*. 1536. Cf. p. 44. • Inv. No. 2838.
185. (Plate 103) *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 169 (107 × 121) 1841. Signed: 1536 *Joannes de Hemessen Pinxi*.
a. Private ownership, Madrid. A copy. • Present location unknown 1851.
186. (Plate 104) *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 699 (94 × 117). Listed as early as 1659 as *Original von Hembszen*. • Inv. No. 985.
187. (Plate 105) *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 701 (115 × 145). Pieced out. • Inv. No. 961.
a. Landesmuseum, Linz. A replica from the reserve of the Vienna museum (114 × 145). • Inv. No. G 642.
b. Royal Collection, Bucharest (110 × 138). • Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Inv. No. 8086/130; 111 × 140.5 cm.
188. (Plate 104) *The Summoning of St. Matthew* (?). Art market, London (Nicholson, 80 × 152). • Now in the University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Acc.No. 1959/1.108.
189. (Plate 106) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*. Coray-Stoop collection, auctioned in Berlin in 1930. Formerly in the Binder collection, Berlin (86 × 78). Signed: *Johannes de Hemesen me fecit 1575* (?), more likely 1535. Exhibited in Utrecht in 1913, No. 37. • Now in the Kunsthau, Zurich, L. Ruzicka Foundation.
190. (Plate 106) *The Agony in the Garden*. Art market, Zurich (Neupert, 1934, 153 × 235). • Auctioned at Fischer, Lucerne, 18th-19th June 1971, No. 492.
191. (Plate 107) *Ecce Homo*. Schleissheim museum, No. 3042 (123 × 102). Signed: *Joannes de Hemessen pingebat 1544*. • On loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. 1408.
192. (Plate 106) *Christ Carrying the Cross* in half-length. Church in Esztergom. • Now in the Diocesan Museum, Esztergom.
193. (Plate 107) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Collection of the Queen of the Netherlands, Soestdijk castle (109 × 85). Reproduced in Martin-Moes, *Altholländische*

Malerei, 1912, Pl. 65. Exhibited in Utrecht in 1913, No. 36. Late period, a bit divergent in style.

194. (Plate 108) *The Lamentation*. Mainz museum. A bit divergent in style, possibly done at an early period. Cf. p. 48. • Inv. No. 70; 110 × 82 cm.

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195. (Plate 108) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, in knee-length. Art market, Leipzig 1931, 115 × 75). • Present location unknown.

196. (Plate 108) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, in half-length. Linz museum. Dated 1540. • Inv. No. G 695; 98 × 72 cm.

197. (Plate 109) *Sts. Paul and Barnabas in Lystra*. Budapest museum, Pálffy collection. • Cat. No. 4315; 59.5 × 85.5 cm.

198. (Plate 109) *Virgin and Child*. Auctioned in Paris, 22nd June 1934, No. 7 (85 × 52, curved top). Formerly in the von Hoschek collection, Prague. • In 1948 on the art market, Paris (Jean Hahn).

199. (Plate 109) *Virgin and Child*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1542 (135 × 91). Dated 1543.

200. (Plate 110) *Virgin and Child*. Añés auction, Berlin, 1904, No. 49 (127 × 98). Now in the W. J. Geertsema collection, Wassenaar (The Netherlands); 129 × 99 cm. • The Añés auction took place on 12. may 1894.

a. (Plate 110) Antwerp museum. A copy. • Cat. No. 982; 140 × 109 cm.

201. *Virgin and Child*. Art market, Paris (Sedelmeyer, 1903). A bit divergent in style, possibly an early work. Cf. p. 48. • Present location unknown.

202. (Plate 110) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Art market, Leipzig (Werner). An early work. Cf. p. 48. • Auctioned at Lempertz, Cologne, 4th December 1952, No. 1191; 98 × 77 cm (1861).

203. (Plate 111) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer, 50 × 37). • Present location unknown.

204. (Plate 111) *The Virgin Suckling the Child* in half-length. Private ownership, Munich (curved top). • Present location unknown.

205. (Plate 111) *Virgin and Child*. Stockholm museum, No. 2140 (145 × 110). Signed: *Joos de Hemessen pinxat 1544*. Cf. p. 46. • 145 × 101 cm.

206. (Plate 112) *The Holy Family* in half-length. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 496 (75 × 55). • Inv. No. WRM 481; 76.5 × 36 cm.

a. Collection of Count Schönborn, Pommersfelden. An original. • Inv. No. 238; 73 × 54 cm.

207. (Plate 112) *The Holy Family* in half-length. Binder collection, Berlin (60 × 57). Exhibited in Utrecht in 1913, No. 35. • Present location unknown (1871).

a. Private ownership, Magdeburg. The same composition without the landscape. • Present location unknown.

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208. (Plate 113) *The Holy Family*, with Sts. Elizabeth and John. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 171 (47 × 35). Signed: *Joannes de Hemessem P. 1541*.

209. *The Holy Family*, with Sts. Elizabeth and John. Fürstliche Gemäldegalerie, Donaueschingen, No. 112 (107 × 76).

a. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer, 96 × 70). The same composition with a landscape background.

210. (Plate 114) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Art market, Vienna (Lucas-Galerie, 1933, 71 × 53). Signed *Johanes Sa de Hemesse pingebat 1534*. Cf. pp. 44, 45f. • Present location unknown.

211. (Plate 114) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Marquis de Victoire de Heredia auction, Paris, 1912 (66 × 51.5). • Present location unknown.

212. (Plate 114) *St. Jerome*. The Hermitage, Leningrad. • Cat. 1958 No. 451; 102 × 83.5 cm.

213. (Plate 114) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Present whereabouts unknown. Signed and dated 1557. • Present location unknown.

214. (Plate 115) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Brignole Sale Gallery, Genoa. • Now in the Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, No. 69; 51 × 81 cm.

215. (Plate 114) *St. Jerome Writing*, full-length nude. Hampton Court, No. 579 (97 × 97). • No. 963; 98.5 × 97.5 cm.

215A. (Plate 115) *St. Jerome*. Lisbon museum. Signed. • Inv. No. 1651; 109 × 148 cm. Dated 1531.

216. (Plate 116) *Nude Boy, Asleep*. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, 1933, 65 × 90). • Auctioned at P. Brandt, Amsterdam, 28th November 1961, No. 11.

217. (Plate 116) *Removing the Stone of Folly*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1541 (100 × 141).

218. (Plate 117) *Loose Company*. Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, No. 152 (83 × 115.5). Cf. p. 46. • Inv. No. 152; 83 × 111.5 cm.

219. (Plate 116) *The Bagpipe Player*. Brussels museum, No. 676 (45 × 65.5). A bit divergent in style. • Inv. No. 3606.

220. (Plate 118) *A Woman Playing the Clavichord*, possibly the Magdalene. Art museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (66 × 54). An early work. Formerly in the Molinari collection, Milan, and the Cardon collection, Brussels. Cf. p. 47. • Acc. No. 1920.88; 67 × 55 cm.

221. (Plate 119) *A Woman Weighing Gold*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 656a (44 × 31). An early work. Cf. p. 47. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

222. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 695 (52 × 43.5). Originally oval, later in a rectangular shape. Listed as "Hemessen" already in the 1783 catalogue. • Inv. No. 1030.

223. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 762a (36.5 × 28). • Inv. No. 915.

224. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Nude Man* in half-length as St. Sebastian. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 8685 (80 × 69). Attributed to Antonis Mor. Probably by van Hemessen.

225. (Plate 121) *Portrait of a Lady* holding a fruit, in half-length. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 570 (52 × 38). Probably by van Hemessen. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

CATALOGUE H: PAINTINGS OF THE BRUNSWICK MONOGRAMMATIST

226. (Plate 122) *Abraham's Sacrifice*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2300 (40 × 32). • Inv. No. 1180.

227. (Plate 122) *Christ with Companions*, talking to a woman. A fragment. M.J. Friedländer collection, Berlin (32 × 25). See p. —. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, Cat. No. 5/58 1881.

228. (Plate 123) *Christ Entering Jerusalem*. Gemäldegalerie, Stuttgart, No. 479 (83.5 × 102.5). I could not find the remainder of the monogram, mentioned in the literature. • Inv. No. 479.

229. (Plate 122) *Ecce Homo*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1157 (55 × 89.5).

• Cat. No. 1652-E 2, on loan to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 960.

a. Castellani collection, Rome, auctioned in 1907, No. 687 (29 × 37). A similar composition. Supposedly signed *Claes haen*. • The auction took place on 5th April 1907.

230. (Plate 124) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2299 (68 × 84). • Inv. No. RF 773.

231. (Plate 124) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1933, 34 × 47). • Now in the Mrs. N. de Boer collection, Amsterdam.

232. (Plate 125) *The Crucifixion*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachofen bequest (29 × 38.5). • Inv. No. 1343.

233. (Plate 125) *The Feeding of the Poor*. Gemäldegalerie, Brunswick, No. 165 (121 × 172). Signed with the monogram composed of the letters ISMH (?). Cf. pp. 48f.

234. (Plate 123) *A Couple of Lovers Outdoors*. Gemäldegalerie, Brunswick, No. 164 (20 × 28).

a. Private ownership, Elberfeld. A free repetition. • Present location unknown.

235. (Plate 126) *A Party in a Public House*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 558 (29 × 45). Cf. p. 49. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Museo Civico, Venice. A copy. • Inv. No. 167; 33 × 47 cm.

236. (Plate 126) *A Party in a Public House*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 116 (33 × 45.5). • Inv. No. 249.

a. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1158 (33.5 × 47.5). A copy. • Cat. No. 1652.E.I.

237. (Plate 127) *A Party in a Public House*. Collection of Count Lanckoronski, Vienna. • In 1947 at the Collecting Point, Munich. The collection was auctioned abroad after World War II.

238. *An Inn with Acrobats and a Bagpipe Player*.

a. (Plate 127) Antwerp museum, No. 875 (30.5 × 38.5, on canvas). A copy.

b. (Plate 127) Collection of Count Lanckoronski, Vienna. An old copy. There are other copies of this composition. • The collection was auctioned abroad after World War II.

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239. (Plates 128, 129) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Left, a donor and his sons with St. Jerome; right, the donatrix and her daughters with St. Catherine. Art market, Berlin (Habersstock, 1932, 83 × 56—25, round top). Dated 1517. From the collection of the Prince of Wied, Neuwied. Versos, in grisaille, *Sts. Anthony and Christopher*. • Now in the William Middendorf collection, U.S.A.; 84 × 55—24 cm.

a. Sommerguth collection, Berlin (54 × 38, round top). A repetition of the centrepiece. Dated 1520. From the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin. • In 1935 in a private collection, Amsterdam; 82.5 × 54 cm.

b. Art market, Paris (D'Atri, 1929, 90 × 60, round top). A copy of the centrepiece, dated 1536. • Present location unknown.

240. (Plate 130) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*. Left, a donor and son with St. Peter; right, the donatrix and her daughters with the Magdalene. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, the centrepiece only). The whole exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 281 (65 × 56—24). • The centrepiece now in the Gemeentemuseum, Arnhem, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. NK 1601; 66 × 57.5 cm. The shutters are lost 1891.

a. Gemäldegalerie, Bamberg, No. 3031, formerly in Schleissheim (84 × 57). A free copy of the centrepiece. • Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 159.

241. (Plate 131) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*. Left, the donor with St. Augustine; right, the donatrix with St. Barbara; versos, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne, St. Elizabeth*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 607 (42 × 32—50 × 17). The donor is Augustyn van Teylingen, his wife Judoca van Egmond. Cf. the portraits in the Rotterdam museum. Done about 1518. Cf. p. 59. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

242. (Plate 132) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*. Left, a donor with St. Sebastian; right, the donatrix with the Magdalene 1901; versos: *Adam and Eve*. Antwerp museum, van Ertborn Collection, No. 523-525 (107 × 72—29). Dated 1515. • 107 × 72—30 cm.

a. Art market, Paris (Dr. Mersch, 1925). A replica of the centrepiece, with the addition of angels. • In 1927 in the Goudstikker collection, Amsterdam; 69 × 55 cm.

243. (Plate 133) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin and Child*. Left, a donor; right, the donatrix; versos: two prophets. Stuttgart museum (110 × 29.5, curved top). The centrepiece signed and dated 1526, the shutters dated 1530. The landscape in the style of van Scorel, the shutters seem to be by Dirk Jacobsz. Cf. p. 56. • Inv. No. GVL 61a, b, c; 111.5 × 70.5—30 cm.

244. (Plates 134, 135) *Altarpiece with Shutters, St. Jerome*, with a donor couple. Double shutters with Sts. Ambrosius, Augustine, Gregory, Thomas, Andrew, Bartholomew, the Emperor Henry, Elizabeth of Hungary, Elizabeth of Portugal, Sts. Martin, Joseph, Kilian, Ursula, Catherine; *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 646 (176 × 113—46). Dated 1511. • Inv. No. 867; 176.5 × 113—175 × 44.5 cm.

245. (Plate 136) *Altarpiece with Shutters, All Saints*. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, No. 30 (87 × 52—36). The versos by a later hand. Signed and dated 1523. • No. 30; 88 × 55—36 cm.

a. (Plate 136) Dijon museum. A copy of the centrepiece. • No. 1084; 86 × 53 cm.

246. (Plate 137) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Nativity*, on the verso Sts. Lawrence and Catherine. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachofen bequest, No. 71 (128 × 96). *St. John the Evangelist, The Virgin*. Art market, Amsterdam (Van Diemen, 1932, 128 × 96). • The panel with *The Nativity*: Inv. No. 1230; 126.5 × 94.5 cm. The panel with *St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin* was on the art market, Wiesbaden (Heinemann) in 1972; 131 × 100 cm.

247. (Plate 138) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*. St. Christopher with a donor, St. Catherine. On the verso, a holy king of England, and a holy Flemish monk. Art market, London (Sabin, 1931). Done about 1518. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inv. Nos. Br. F 4, 5, on loan from the collection of Mr. J. W. Frederiks; 73 × 26.5 cm, each.

248. *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. James*, verso, *St. George*; *St. Barbara*, verso, *St. Sebastian*. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 17 × 22, each). • Present location unknown.

249. (Plate 139) *Jacob Giving His Blessing*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1930, 41 × 31). • Present location unknown.

250. (Plate 139) *King Saul with the Witch of Endor*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 722 (87 × 125). Signed and dated 1526 novemb. 29.

251. (Plate 140) *David and Abigail*. Copenhagen museum, No. 70 (87 × 67). Done about 1506. • Inv. No. Sp. 734; 87 × 67.5 cm.

252. (Plate 141) *The Annunciation*. Art market, New York (Ehrich, 1921, 24 × 17.5, round top). Done about 1510? I have not actually viewed this picture and am judging it only after a reproduction in Steinbart, *Die Tafelgemälde . . .*, 1922, Plate 13. • Now in the Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana, Inv. No. 24.1; 61 × 45 cm.

253. (Plate 141) *The Adoration of the Christ Child*, with angels and a donor family.

Naples museum (120 × 195). Dated 1512. • Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, No. 3; 128 × 177 cm 1911.

254. (Plate 142) *The Adoration of the Christ Child*. Stillwell auction, New York, 1927 (97 × 75). Some of the heads reworked by Ysenbrant. • Present location unknown 1921.

255. (Plate 143) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Utrecht museum, No. 507 (109 × 106). From the Church of St. Catherine, Utrecht. Done about 1500. Cf. p. 58. • Archiepiscopal Museum, Inv. No. 61; 110 × 107 cm.

256. (Plate 143) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Dr. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (44 × 54). From the von Ferstel and Castiglioni collections, Vienna. Done about 1520. Cf. p. 59. • Now in the Chicago Museum. • Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois, Wilson L. Mead Fund, Acc. No. 35.381; 44.5 × 56 cm.

257. (Plate 141) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Verona museum, No. 156 (round top). Perhaps copied by Jacob after an ancient model. • 76 × 44 cm.

a. Art market, Vienna (Miethke). A replica of almost equal merit. • Present location unknown.

258. (Plate 144) *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, No. 102, Dr. Weber bequest (cut into a tondo, 39 in diameter). Done about 1505. • Inv. No. GK 102.

a. Von Kaufmann collection, Berlin (destroyed by fire, 51 × 39, rounded corners above).

259. (Plate 144) *The Temptation of Christ*. Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, No. 103 (pinewood panel, 163 × 90). The landscape in the style of van Scorel. Perhaps the work of this master, done in Southern Germany about 1520. The type of wood argues for this possibility.

260. *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Private ownership, Paris. Probably done in the master's workshop. • Present location unknown.

261. *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz, No. 1598 (70 × 54, round top). • Now in the Staatliche Galerie, Schloss Georgium, Dessau, Joachim Ernst Bequest, No. 260.

262. (Plate 144) *The Agony in the Garden*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1933, 22 × 20.5). • In 1956 in the Mrs. Alpost collection, Hamburg.

263. (Plate 145) *Christ on the Cross*, with mourners. Ghent museum, No. 1904 (65 × 54, originally curved top). • Inv. No. 1904-c.

264. (Plate 146) *The Crucifixion*. Rijksmuseum, No. 723 (104 × 88). Other and

lesser workshop panels of similar composition are in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia 1931; the Utrecht museum 1941 (No. 508); the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne 1951 (No. 491); at Barnard Castle, England 1961, and in the Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Galerie in Vienna 1971. o The *Crucifixion* in the Liechtenstein museum, Vienna, is probably after all an original.

265. (Plate 145) *The Crucifixion*, with a donor. Collection of Vicomte Ruffo de Bonneval, Brussels (77 × 66, round top). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 379. Signed (?) J-A (interlinked). • Now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Cat. No. 5073; 62.5 × 43 cm.

266. (Plate 145) *The Lamentation*. Polish Museum, Poznan. Possibly a workshop copy. • Narodowe Museum, Poznan, Inv. No. 144; 45 × 24 cm.

267. *The Entombment*. Art market, London (Buttery, 1929, 30 × 30). • Present location unknown.

268. *The Resurrection*. Hartmann collection, Frankfurt (110 × 82). A workshop production. • Present location unknown.

269. (Plate 147) *Death of St. Anne*. Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Galerie, Vienna, No. 731 (66 × 64, arched top). Possibly a workshop production. • Now in the Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz, Inv. No. 731; 66 × 54 cm.

270. (Plate 147) *Christ the Gardner*. Kassel museum, No. 29 (52 × 36). Dated 1507. Cf. p. 57. • 54.5 × 39 cm.

271. (Plate 147) *Coronation of the Virgin*. Art market, Munich (Caspari, 1929, round top). • Now in the Mrs. H.A. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam; 35 × 25 cm.

272. (Plate 147) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 103 (24 × 16, round top). Done about 1510. • No. 372; 29 × 20.3 cm with the original frame.

273. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, with the Virgin and St. John. Galeria Colonna, Rome, No. 124 (34 × 23). Done about 1512.

274. (Plate 148) *Christ Giving the Blessing*. Art market, Berlin (1927, 37 × 25). • In 1930 on the art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker).

275. (Plate 148) *The Virgin and St. John Mourning*, a fragment. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1914). • Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois, Mr. and Mrs. M.A. Ryerson collection, Acc. No. 37-1011; 34 × 27.5 cm.

276. (Plate 148) *The Virgin on a Crescent Moon*. Strasbourg museum, No. 61 (30 × 18).

277. *Virgin and Child*, with flying angels. Art market, Florence, 1902 (round top). Done about 1510. • Present location unknown.

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278. (Plate 148) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Ch. V. Hickox collection, New York (99 × 82). From the collection of prince Bückeburg. Done about 1505. Cf. pp. 57f. • Present location unknown.

279. (Plate 148) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* in half-length. Schnitzler collection, Berlin, present whereabouts unknown (19 × 14, round top). • Now in a private collection, U.S.A.

280. (Plate 149) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Fürstliche Galerie, Esztergom. Cf. Benesch, *Belvedere*, 1929, p. 70. Unknown to me. • Keresztyenyi Muzeum, Esztergom, No. 55.325; 56 × 84 cm.

281. (Plate 149) *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Art market, Amsterdam (Cassirer, 1927, 26 × 68). Done about 1512. • Now in a private collection, Zurich.

282. (Plate 150) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Tobias Christ collection, Basle (44 × 33). Done after the main figure of the Vienna Altarpiece of St. Jerome (No. 244). • 42.5 × 32.5 cm.

283. (Plate 150) *The Magdalene* in half-length. St. Louis museum, U.S.A. (57 × 40). Dated 1519. From the Kaufmann collection, Berlin, and the Chillingworth collection, Nuremberg.

284. (Plate 150) *Salome*, in half-length. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 1 (71 × 52). Signed and dated 1524. • On loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 722.A.2; 72 × 53.5 cm.

285. (Plate 151) *Scenes from Legends*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 45 (118 × 68). Done about 1507. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East), No. 604.

286. (Plate 152) *Two Orientals* in half-length, a fragment. Collection of Count Fürstenberg, Herdringen (Westphalia) (42 × 25). About 1518.

286A. (Plate 152) *A Holy Bishop* in bust-length, a fragment. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 1929). • Now on the art market, Amsterdam (P. & N. de Boer); 21 × 18.5 cm.

287. (Plate 151) *A Fragment of a Votive Panel*, from the Convent of the Sisters of St. Agnes, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, acquired in an exchange with the Berlin

Gemäldegalerie (88 × 129). Only half of the panel, with male portraits, is exhibited in Amsterdam, the half with the portraits of the women being in a poorer state of preservation (1981). Cf. p. 61. • Cat. No. 722.A; 90 × 57 cm.

288. (Plate 152) *The Spectacle Seller*. Two rather weak replicas of this composition are known to me. One (288a) in the Berlin art market, 1922 (47 × 35), the other (288b) on an auction in Amsterdam. • The first one now in the Groningen Museum, Inv. No. 1948-98, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague; 49.5 × 35.5 cm; the other one: 46 × 32 cm, auctioned in 1906.

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289. (Plate 154) *Self-Portrait*, a fragment? Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 721 (38 × 30). Signed and dated 1533. Cf. p. 53.

a. (Plate 155) Collection of the Duke of Newcastle, Clumber House. The master is shown painting his wife's portrait (61 × 50). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, on 4th June 1937 (Earl of Lincoln), No. 70 (60 × 48). Dated 1530. Oddly enough, the self-portrait in London is dated 1533. I was unable to examine the picture auctioned in London in the original, hence can say nothing of its quality. • Now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio; 62 × 49.3 cm.

Cf. also the self-portrait in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, in a poor state of preservation.

290. (Plate 155) *Portrait of a Couple*, Augustyn van Teylingen and his wife Judoca van Egmond. Rotterdam museum, Nos. 53, 54 (50 × 32, each). On the frames, the names of the sitters and the date 1511, but the pictures are more likely to have been done in 1520. Cf. p. 59. • Inv. Nos. 1625, 1626; 51 × 34.5 cm, each.

291. (Plate 152) *Portrait of Jacob Pijnssen* in bust-length. Dr. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (22 × 14, round top, in the original frame). Dated 1513 (?) 1991. • Now in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede. • Inv. No. 20; 23 × 13.5 cm without the frame.

a. Albert Hecht collection, Paris (29.8 × 21, round top, in the original frame). A faithful replica. • Present location unknown.

292. (Plate 152) *Portrait of Isabella of Denmark* in bust-length. Rohoncz Castle, Baron Dr. Thyssen collection (33 × 23). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Cat. No. 92.

293. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Gentleman* in bust-length. Gréau collection, Paris (round top). • Present location unknown.

a. Art market, Amsterdam (Douwes, 1927, round top). A repetition of equal merit, with a different ornamentation. Done about 1516. • Now in the Veltman collection, Haarlem. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 722.A.3; 41.5 × 33.5 cm (100).

294. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Gentleman* in bust-length. Collection of Sir H. Cook, Richmond (34 × 24). Done about 1530. • Now on the art market, Netherlands; 42 × 35.5 cm.

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295. (Plates 156, 157) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Gathering of the Manna*. On the rectos and versos of the shutters, scenes from the life of Moses. Utrecht Museum, No. 568 (69 × 57—23, curved top). • Archiepiscopal museum, Inv. No. 69.

296. (Plates 158, 159) *Altarpiece of the van Lockhorst Family*. Utrecht museum, No. 169 (79 × 147—66). *Christ Entering Jerusalem*; on the shutters, saints, on the versos, donors and saints (the left interior shutter missing 11011. Done about 1526. Cf. pp. 69f. • Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 256; 79 × 147—81 × 66 cm.

297. (Plate 163) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Family*. On the shutters, the family of the donor with St. John the Baptist and The Magdalene. Stoop collection, Dordrecht (76 × 59.5—57 × 27). A workshop production. The shutters are by another hand. Reproduced in Martin-Moes, *Altholländische Malerei*, 1912, Plate 55. • Present location unknown; 76 × 69.5—27 cm.

298. (Plates 160–162) *Altarpiece of the Count of Frangipani, The Holy Kindred*. Obervellach, Carinthia (chestnutwood panel, 113 × 141—62). Signed: *Joannes Scorel hollandius pictorie artis amator pingebat anno a virginis partu...*, 1520. Cf. pp. 67f. • 142 × 144.5—141 × 61.5 cm 11021.

299. (Plate 163) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Komter collection, Amsterdam (97 × 97—39). On the shutters, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; *The Resurrection*; on the versos, *Adam and Eve*. Cf. p. 76. • The centrepiece was in 1955 in a private collection, Wassenaar (Netherlands); 94 × 73.5.

a. Episcopal museum, Haarlem. An old copy of the centrepiece. • Inv. No. 94; 170 × 149 cm.

b. Béguinage, Amsterdam. A workshop production.

c. Private ownership, Switzerland. • Present location unknown.

300. (Plate 164) *Altarpiece of the Vischer van der Geer Family*. Utrecht museum, No. 178 (97 × 72.5—31). *Virgin and Child* with the donor, Jacob Vischer. On the shutters, St. Adrian with Adriaen Vischer, St. Barbara with Barbara Vischer. A workshop production. Reproduced in Martin-Moes, *Altholländische Malerei*, 1912, Plate 46. The shutters are by another hand. • Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 264 11031.

301. (Plate 164) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ and the Magdalene*. On the shutters, the donor family. Weber collection, Hamburg, auctioned in 1912, present whereabouts unknown (173 × 173—48, curved top). An inscription on the verso names

Hendrik Joostz. van Duyvelandt as the donor. Probably from the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft (1104). • Now in the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, Inv. No. P. 9'52; 165 × 122 cm.

302. (Plate 165) *Altarpiece of the Discovery of the Holy Cross*. Church in Breda, memorial chapel of Engelbrecht van Nassau. Done about 1540. Cf. p. 77. • 232 × 262.5—125 cm.

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303. (Plate 166) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. Portraits of a Man and his Wife; versos Christ Carrying the Cross and The Resurrection*. Utrecht museum, No. 567 (98.5 × 28.5, each). The portraitlike heads in the style of van Scorel, the hands of a lesser quality, the versos workshop productions. • Archiepiscopal museum, Inv. No. 94c, 95c.

304. (Plate 166) *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*. The remains of an altarpiece cited by van Mander as being then in Marchiennes, Artois. Valenciennes museum. Cf. Gr. Ring, *Kunstchronik*, 1918. • Lost after World War I; 176 × 48 cm (1105).

305. (Plate 167) *Adam and Eve*. Innsbruck museum, No. 105 (40 × 32). Reproduced in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1929/30, p. 223. • Tiroler Landesmuseum, Ferdinandeum; 41 × 32.5 cm.

306. (Plate 167) *Adam and Eve*. Haarlem museum, No. 264 (156 × 121). Probably a workshop production, but not by Heemskerck, as has been often suggested.

307. (Plate 168) *The Tower of Babel*. Cà d'Oro, Venice. Reproduced in *Oud-Holland*, 1931, p. 177 (Winkler). • Galleria dell'Accademia, Cat. No. 185; 58 × 75 cm.

308. (Plate 169) *David and Goliath*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 844 (108.5 × 155.5). Cf. p. 75.

a. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 256 (51 × 37). A copy of the main group. • Rheinisches Landesmuseum; 52 × 38.5 cm.

309. (Plate 167) *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 2190 (98.5 × 186.5). Formerly in Groningen.

310. (Plate 168) *Bathsheba Bathing*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 2191 (103 × 203). Formerly in Groningen. Unfinished?

311. (Plate 169) *Tobie and the Angel*. Binder collection, Berlin (43.5 × 86.5). Formerly in the Boden collection, Cologne. Signed: *Joannes Scorell de Holandia 1521*. Reproduced in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 47, p. 33. • Now in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, on loan from a private collection.

312. (Plate 171) *The Visitation*. Lvov museum (49.8 × 51). Reproduced in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 47, p. 35 (Winkler). I have not seen this painting.

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313. (Plate 170) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Sterbini collection, Rome (86 × 106). A workshop production. • Now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Cat. No. 997; 93 × 75 cm.

a. Utrecht museum, No. 571, on canvas (79.5 × 68.5). A faithful replica. • Archiepiscopal museum, Inv. No. 85.

b. Nieuwenbroek Castle, van Splinter collection. A faithful replica. • Now on loan to the Goltzius museum, Venlo (Netherlands); 113.5 × 86.5 cm.

o A good replica, possible the original, is on the Paris art market (Benedict, 1935, 91 × 73). • Present location unknown.

314. (Plate 171) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 254 (86 × 69). A workshop production. • Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. No. GK 254; 86 × 68 cm.

315. (Plate 171) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Valenciennes museum, No. 204 (100 × 80). Dated 1555, indistinctly signed: KMD. A workshop production. • Inv. No. 46.1.270, 102 × 81 cm.

316. (Plate 172) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 755a (114 × 85). Cf. pp. 75f. • Inv. No. 6161.

317. (Plate 173) *The Baptism of Christ*. Haarlem museum, No. 264 (121 × 156.5). • Cat. No. 265 (11061; 120.5 × 156.5 cm.

a. Private ownership, Murnau (106 × 154). Dated 1550. A copy. • Present location unknown.

318. *The Baptism of Christ*. Von Hevesy collection, Paris (70 × 96). • Now in a private collection, Indianapolis, Indiana; 81 × 89 cm.

319. (Plate 173) *The Baptism of Christ*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 11 153 (80 × 80). Repeated doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of this picture, which has occasionally been attributed to Jan Swart. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East).

320. (Plate 174) *The Good Samaritan*. Van der Kinderen collection, Amsterdam (115 × 102). Dated 1537. Of doubtful authenticity, the style unusually harsh. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 2197.A.1; 73 × 85 cm.

321. (Plate 174) *The Crucifixion*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 255 (133 × 120, round top). Signed *Schoorle* 1530. Probably a workshop production. The inscription proves little one way or the other. • Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. No. GK 255; 123.5 × 120 cm.

322. (Plate 175) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin and St. John in the foreground. Detroit museum, acquired in 1934. Cf. p. 75. • Inv. No. 34.15. Gift of the Julius H. Haass Fund; 38 × 31.5 cm.

323. (Plate 177) *The Lamentation*. Utrecht museum, No. 174 (166.5 × 138). Possibly the same panel that was once in the Chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul, in the Cathedral in 's Hertogenbosch. Cf. J.B. Gramaye, *Antiquitates Illustrissimi Ducatus Brabantiae*, 1708, Vol. 2, p. 6. Cf. p. 76. • Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 261.

324. (Plate 176) *The Lamentation*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. Partly overpainted at an earlier date. • Inv. No. WRM 586; 140.5 × 132 cm (11071).

325. (Plate 177) *St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Thurkow collection, The Hague. Cf. p. 74. • Now in the Mrs. L. Thurkow-van Huffel collection, The Hague; 112.5 × 152.5 cm. Signed J. . . Pinxit.

326. (Plate 178) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* in half-length. Formerly in the Hohenzollern collection, Sigmaringen (54 × 51, round top). • Now on the art market, Vienna (Lucas Galerie). • Now in a private collection, U.S.A.

327. (Plate 178) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, outdoors. Vieweg collection, Brunswick, auctioned in Berlin, 1930, No. 49 (57.7 × 74.5). • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress collection, Acc. No. 1398; 58 × 75 cm.

• A fairly faithful replica was on the art market, Cologne, in 1936 (64 × 77).
• Present location unknown.

328. *Virgin and Child* in half-length, side view. Art market, Berlin (Galerie Ehrhard, 1927). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, in 1969; 53.5 × 40.5 cm.

329. (Plate 179) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, outdoors. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 644a (44 × 37). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Auctioned at Muller, Amsterdam, 21st November 1933, No. 57 (52 × 44). From the Semmel collection, Berlin. A repetition of equal merit. • Now in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Inv. No. 12432a.

b. (Plate 179) Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (55 × 76). A repetition with a donor couple. The composition similar to the centrepiece of the altarpiece in the Stoop collection. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, No. 385.

330. (Plate 180) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Rotterdam museum, No. 413 (35 × 26.5, round top). • Inv. No. 1798.

a. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1921, 46.5 × 34.5). A free repetition.
• Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland).

331. (Plate 180) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, side view. Art market, London (L. Douglas, 1912, 60 × 50). • In 1959 on the art market, Amsterdam (de Boer).
a. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Wendland, 1927). A free repetition of equal merit.
• Present location unknown.
- 124 332. (Plate 180) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, No. 34 (83 × 67). A workshop production. • On loan from the Berlin Museum, Inv. No. II.156; 83.5 × 67.5 cm.
333. *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, in half-length. Art market, Berlin (Benedict, 1926, 71.5 × 55). • Present location unknown.
a. Art market, Frankfurt (74 × 60). A free replica of equal merit. • Now in the Fentener van Vlissingen collection, Vught (Netherlands); 73 × 58 cm.
334. (Plate 181) *The Holy Family* in half-length. Collection of Dr. G. Grzimek (92 × 71). Zethoven auction, Munich, September 1934. • Present location unknown.
335. (Plate 181) *The Holy Family*, the Virgin in knee-length. Private ownership, London (58 × 44, destroyed by fire). Formerly in the Alton Towers collection.
336. *The Holy Family* in a hall. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (59 × 42). • Auctioned at P. Brandt, Amsterdam, 23rd April 1968; No. 455; 78 × 69 cm.
a. Art market, Paris (1926). A free copy. • Present location unknown.
337. (Plate 180) *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. • No. 482; 92 × 67 cm.
338. (Plate 182) *The Magdalene*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 2189 (67 × 76.5). Formerly in the town hall of Haarlem (107a).
a. Palermo museum. An old copy. • Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia, Inv. No. 80; 57 × 76 cm.
o An old copy was auctioned at Christie's, London, in April 1937. • Now in a private collection, Great Britain.
339. *The Magdalene*, full-length nude, with a landscape background. Private collection, Paris (107 × 133). A major work, known to me only in reproduction.
• Present location unknown.
340. (Plate 183) *St. Paul* in bust-length. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Goldschmidt, 53 × 28). • Now in the Episcopal museum, Haarlem, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague; 47.5 × 35.5 cm.

341. *St. Peter by the Sea of Galilee*. Utrecht museum, No. 177 (86 × 138). On loan from Jonkheer van Riemsdijk. Cf. the drawing in the Rotterdam museum (1081).
● Now in the Jhr. B. W. F. van Riemsdijk collection, Amsterdam.

342. (Plate 183) *Cleopatra*, nude, resting outdoors. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. From the de Stuers collection. ● Cat. No. 2196. A.1; 36 × 61 cm.

343. (Plate 183) *Head of a Woman*, a fragment. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 755c (28.5 × 23). Perhaps a workshop production. ● Inv. No. 2986.

344. (Plate 184) *Group Portrait*, a *doelenstuk*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Dated 1531. Totally overpainted. Cf. Riegl, *Das Holländische Gruppenporträt*, 1902, p. 106. ● Cat. No. 366; 115 × 195 cm.

345. (Plate 184) *Portraits of Twelve Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. The first one is Hendrick van Rauenswaeyen. Utrecht museum, No. 171 (46 × 276). The last year in which this pilgrimage could have taken place is 1523. Done about 1525. Cf. p. 72.
● Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 258 11091.

346. (Plate 184) *Portraits of Twelve Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. The first one is Dirck Saets. Utrecht museum, No. 170 (48 × 276.5). Among the sitters is Jan van Scorel himself. The last year in which this pilgrimage could have taken place is 1524. Done about 1526. Cf. p. 72. ● Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 257 11101.

347. (Plate 185) *Portraits of Nine Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. The first is Jelis van Royen. Utrecht museum, No. 172 (46.5 × 247.5). The last year in which this pilgrimage could have taken place is 1535. Done about 1536. ● Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 259.

348. (Plate 185) *Portraits of Five Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. The first one is Jan van Dam. Utrecht museum, No. 173 (79 × 164). The last year in which this pilgrimage could have taken place is 1541. The painting has been sometimes attributed to A. Mor. ● Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 260.

349. (Plate 185) *Portraits of Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. Haarlem museum, No. 263 (114.5 × 274.5). Done about 1528. Cf. p. 72. ● 114.5 × 276 cm.

350. *Pope Hadrian*. University of Louvain (destroyed by fire). Cf. p. 71 11111.

a. (Plate 186) Utrecht museum, No. 176 (91 × 72). A copy. ● Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 263.

351. (Plate 187) *Portrait of Cornelis Aertsz. van der Dussen*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 644 (98 × 74). Probably an old copy. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 2195 (100 × 77). An old copy.

352. (Plate 186) *Portrait of Jan Carondelet*. Art market, Brussels. After Vermeyen. From the unusual dimensions, it could be the pendant to the *Portrait of Bishop George van Egmont* (No. 356). Authenticity doubtful. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No. 1101; 57.5 × 81 cm.

353. (Plate 187) *Portraits of Jan Diert and His Wife*. Episcopal museum, Haarlem (curved top). The sitter was active in Gouda between 1539 and 1572 (1121). • Inv. No. 1541; 61.5 × 39 cm, each.

354. (Plate 187) *Portrait of Herman van Lockhorst*. Collection of Count Fürstenberg, Herdringen, Westphalia (36.5 × 30). Cf. p. 71. Done about 1526.

355. (Plate 189) *Agatha van Schoonhoven*. Galleria Doria, Rome (36.5 × 25.5, round top). Signed: *Agathe Sconhoviana 1529 per Scorelium pictorem*. The presumed portraits of Agatha in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and in Windesheim castle, do not represent her and are not by van Scorel. A female portrait in the John. G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, is of somewhat higher quality (No. 415) and agrees with the one in Amsterdam. • Inv. No. 216; 37.5 × 26 cm.

356. (Plate 189) *Bishop George van Egmond*. Offel House, Noordwijk, collection of Count Limburg Stirum (57 × 80). Done about 1530. • Now on loan to the Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

357. (Plate 188) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Brussels museum, No. 964 (26 × 19.5). • Inv. No. 4582.

358. (Plate 189) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 96a (32 × 26.5). A later inscription on the overpainted background names Q. Massys as the author (1113). • Inv. No. 1154.

359. (Plate 191) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Berlin, from the imperial collection (round top). • Subsequently in the Dr. A. Wilhelm collection, Bottmingen (Switzerland); 39 × 25 cm. Present location unknown.

360. (Plate 190) *Portrait of a Pilgrim to Jerusalem*. G. G. Booth collection, Detroit (64 × 43.5, round top). Chillingworth auction, 5th September 1922, Lucerne. • Now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan, Inv. No. 735, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Bresford; 63 × 44 cm.

361. (Plate 192) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 683a (27.5 × 19, round top). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

362. (Plate 193) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, one-half of a diptych. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 644B (65 × 44). Verso: *Lucretia*. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

363. (Plate 194) *Portrait of a Canon*. Weimar museum (52 × 36). Allegedly from the collection of Charles I of England. The face is not in a perfect state of preservation. • Inv. No. G 47a.

364. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. De Bruyn collection, Spiez (25 × 19). Formerly in the J. Simon collection, Berlin. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 26 × 20.5 cm.

365. (Plate 194) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, holding a bowl. Art market, Berlin (Perls, 1929). • Now in the Erven Philips collection, Eindhoven; 49.5 × 38.5 cm.

366. (Plate 194) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Rotterdam museum (reserve) (41.5 × 34). The face and the background are the worse for wear. • Inv. No. 1796.

367. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1932, 36 × 27.5). A similar portrait of the same sitter in another posture and lighted differently, was on the art market, London, in 1895. • Present location unknown.

368. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. F. D. Lycett Green collection, Ashfield (42.5 × 40). From the Holford collection (Westonbirt). • Now in the City Art Gallery, York, Yorkshire, No. 62; 45.7 × 38.7 cm.

369. *Portrait of a Pilgrim to Jerusalem*. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, with a shallow arch at the top). • Present location unknown.

370. *Portrait of a Gentleman*, with a landscape background with ruins. Formerly in the Chiesa collection, Milan. The head is not in a perfect state of preservation. • Present location unknown.

371. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Christ Church, Oxford, No. 315 (60.2 × 52.6). • Cat. No. 235; 61.1 × 52.2 cm.

372. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Christ Church, Oxford, No. 316 (59.5 × 50.7). Cat. No. 236; 60 × 51.7 cm.

I was unable to subject these two pendants, apparently done by van Scorel, to careful examination.

373. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 30 × 21). • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inv. No. 2480; 30 × 21 cm.

374. (Plate 196) *Portrait of a Boy*. Rotterdam museum, No. 412 (46.5 × 35). Dated 1531. • Inv. No. 1797.

375. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Boy*. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (Lochis), No. 474. A later inscription on the verso attributes the painting to Andrea Canter. • 39 × 28 cm.

376. (Plate 197) *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*. Galleria Corsini, Rome (22 × 23). A *Portrait of a Gentleman*, its pendant, is in a poor state of preservation. • Now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, No. 87; 31 × 25 cm and 31 × 24 cm (1114).

377. (Plate 197) *Portrait of a Lady*. Besançon museum, No. 347 (43 × 33). Reproduced by Cohen in *Festgabe for Koetschau*, p. 106. • Inv. No. 1 Nu. 391-1-153; 42 × 33 cm.

The following six paintings form a group that is believed to have been done by Scorel during his Italian period.

378. (Plate 198) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2641 B (50 × 43). Dated 1501 (the date is doubtful). • Inv. No. RF 120. Dated 1521.

378A. (Plate 198) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Stuttgart museum; No. 531 (Limewood panel, 48 × 40).

379. (Plate 198) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Oldenburg museum, (poplarwood panel, 45 × 35.5). • Inv. No. 45; 45 × 33.5 cm (1115).

380. (Plate 198) *Portrait of a Lute Player*. Copenhagen museum, No. 347 (44 × 33). • Inv. No. Sp. 740. Transferred to canvas.

381. (Plate 199) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Padua museum. Dated 1521. Reproduced in *Oud-Holland*, 1931, p. 175. • Inv. No. 37; 67 × 56 cm.

382. (Plate 199) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna (47 × 41). Listed under "Licinio da Pordenone". • Now in the Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz.

The following four paintings represent a group that may have been done by either van Scorel or Martin van Heemskerck.

383. (Plate 200) *Portrait of a Family*. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, No. 33 (118 × 140). Cf. pp. 79f. • Inv. No. 400.

384. (Plate 201) *Portrait of Pieter Bicker, Master of the Mint*. Collection of the Baroness Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Huize Poll, near Voorst (84 × 65, a shallow arch above). Dated 1529 on the frame. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 1128. A. 1; 84.5 × 65 cm.

385. (Plate 201) *Portrait of Anna Codde, Wife of Pieter Bicker*. Location and dimensions as for No. 384. Supposedly signed: . . . kerck. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 1128. A.2; 84.5 × 65 cm.

386. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Present whereabouts unknown. Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1928, No. 82 (88 × 66, shallow arch above).

387. *Portrait of a Gentleman* with hands folded. Fentener van Vlissingen collection, Utrecht (43 × 32). Sold in the Tabourier auction, Paris, 1898, No. 167. This portrait is close to Vermeyen in some aspects. • Now in the Fentener van Vlissingen collection, Vught (Netherlands).

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The following two paintings are by the same hand, possibly by van Scorel.

387A. (Plate 201) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 660 (77 × 58). • Inv. No. 739.

387B. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Bromberg collection, Hamburg (86 × 67). From the Weber collection, auctioned in Berlin, in 1912, No. 99. • Present location unknown.

CATALOGUE L: THE PAINTINGS OF JAN CORNELISZ. VERMEYEN

I have omitted some portraits of royal personages of which only copies have come down to us (Cf. Glück, *Österreichisches Jahrbuch*, New Series, vol. 7, 1933, pp. 183 ff.). On some compositions that may have been done by this master, cf. Steinbart, *Marburger Jahrbuch*, vol. 6, 1931.

388. (Plates 202-204) *Altarpiece of the Raising of Lazarus*. On the shutters, the donor Jean Micault and his wife; versos: *Christ at the Home of Martha and Mary*. Brussels museum, No. 493 (145 × 125-57). Cf. p. 88. • Inv. No. 385. Shutters 151 × 57 cm 11161.

389. (Plate 205) *Portrait of Cardinal Carondelet*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Havemeyer bequest). The features like the portrait by van Orley in the Pinakothek, Munich. Cf. pp. 86f. • Now in the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York, Gift of Horace Havemeyer, Acc. No. 47.76; 78 × 62 cm.

390. (Plate 206) *Portrait of Bishop Erard de La Marck*. Von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp (64 × 54). Cf. the engraving by Vermeyen, as well as the drawing in the Arras Codex (No. 525). Cf. p. 85. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 2529.A.M.; 64 × 54.5 cm.

391. (Plate 206) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, with a curtain held by two genies. Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House (72.5 × 60).

392. (Plate 207) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Akademie, Vienna, Inv. No. 1369 (78 × 66). Cf. p. 86. • 79 × 65.5 cm.

393. (Plate 207) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence, No. 223 (88 × 73).
● 74 × 61 cm.
394. (Plate 206) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, with a dog and a monkey. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 497 (45 × 34). ● Inv. No. WRM 482; 46.5 × 35.5 cm (11171).
395. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Private ownership, Genoa (74 × 62). A coat of arms appears on the sitter's sealring. ● Auctioned at Christie's, London, 5th December 1969, No. 16.
396. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. E. G. Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park (72.5 × 55). Reproduced in *Arundel Club*, 1914, No. 12. This fine portrait differs in some respects from the others ascribed to the master. ● E. G. Spencer Churchill auction, at Christie's, London, 28th May 1965, No. 54.
397. (Plate 208) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Berlin (P. Cassirer, 1930).
● Present location unknown.
398. (Plate 208) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Paris (J. Seligmann, 1927, 97 × 68). ● Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 11th December 1948, No. 42.
399. (Plate 208) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Bordeaux museum. ● Inv. No. 206; 61 × 44 cm.
400. (Plate 209) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. National Gallery, London, No. 2607 (41 × 33). Inscription on the medal held by the sitter: *Mercurius. De. Gattinaria. Carlis M. Cacellar* 11181. ● 42 × 33.5 cm.

SUPPLEMENTS TO THE CATALOGUES

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF THE MAGDALENE

Supp. 401. *Portrait of a Girl*. Baron Thyssen collection, Lugano, Rohoncz Castle. Dated 1527. ● Now in a private collection, Netherlands; 31.5 × 21 cm.

THE MASTER OF THE FEMALE HALF-LENGTHS

Supp. 402. (Plate 211) *The Nativity*. Art market, London (Douglas, 1934; 46 × 31). ● Present location unknown.

PIETER COECK

Supp. 403. (Plate 211) *The Holy Family* in half-length. Swen Boström collection, Stockholm (38.5 × 33). • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 25th November 1970, No. 53.

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Supp. 404. (Plate 211) *The Holy Family* in half-length. J. Herbrand collection, Paris (65 × 56.5) (11191). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 405. *Lucretia* in half-length. Art market, London (W. E. Duits, 1936; 67.5 × 50). • In 1966 in the collection of Dr. André Matthey, Lindau.

JAN VAN HEMESSEN

Supp. 406. (Plate 212) *Judah and Tamar*. Hellberg collection, Stockholm (101 × 138). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 407. (Plate 212) *The Deposition*. Stuyck del Bruyère collection, Antwerp (122 × 95). • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 6909.

Supp. 408. (Plate 213) *Jesus and John as Boys, with an Angel and a Lamb*. Art market, Vienna (Hevesy, 58 × 61). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 409. (Plate 213) *The Laughing and Weeping Philosopher* (11192), auction at Sotheby's, London, 19th June 1935 (51 × 61). • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. o 1576; 52 × 62 cm.

Supp. 410. (Plate 213) *St. Jerome* in half-length. Private collection, Stockholm. Signed: *Joannes de Hemessen pingebat* (85 × 70). • In 1947 in a private collection, Barcelona.

JACOB VAN AMSTERDAM

Supp. 411. *Birth of the Virgin*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1936; 130 × 76). From the master's late period. The composition is in part influenced by Dürer's woodcut from the *Life of the Virgin* series (B.80). • Present location unknown.

JAN VAN SCOREL

Supp. 412. *Baptism of Christ*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1937; 85 × 71). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 413. (Plate 214) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Private ownership, Oporto, Portugal. Similar to No. 332 (Kassel), but of superior merit. • Now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. No. 1844; 71.5 × 42.5 cm.

Supp. 414. *Virgin and Child* in knee-length. Art market, Paris (Wertheimer, 1935). Dated 1530. More probably done by Heemskerck. • Present location unknown.

Supp. 415. (Plate 214) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Van Foreest collection, Heilo, Netherlands (47 × 34). Dated 1529 on the original frame. Of importance, because it permits a comparison with the portraits of Pieter Bicker and his wife, done the same year (Nos. 384, 385). The latter look rather different and should possibly be considered as having been done by van Heemskerck (cf. pp. 80f). • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 2196.A.3.

Supp. 416. (Plate 159) *Altarpiece shutter: Sts. Agnes, Cornelius and Anthony*. Utrecht museum (81 × 66). This is the left shutter, the exterior of the Lockhorst altarpiece, which is now once again complete with this latest finding (No. 296, cf. pp. 69ff.). • Centraal Museum, Cat. No. 256.

JAN C. VERMEYEN

Supp. 417. (Plate 214) *Virgin and Child*. Earliest one to bear the signature, both name and initials. This work of the master turned up on the London art market in 1937 and is now in the hands of the art dealer P. Cassirer, Amsterdam. • Now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, Cat. No. 683, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, 64 × 54.5 cm.

ADDENDUM

• Add. 418 (Plate 215) *Altarpiece of the Descent of the Cross*. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Inv. No. 112; 262 × 172—274 × 84 cm. Pieter Coeck. Cf. L. van Puyvelde, *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, IV, Lisbon, 1938, p. 62 and Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande, Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 75-86.

In his note on the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene in the last volume of the Thieme-Becker Dictionary, F. Winkler (120), gave a summary of what is known about this problematical master, adding an exhaustive bibliography. Since then, an exhibition held in Bruges in 1969 (121) has given scholars an opportunity to study and compare the paintings attributed to him.

Additions to the bibliography consist largely of some studies of groups of portraits of a few isolated works: U. Hoff and M. Davies (122) carefully examined the left shutter of the Melbourne altarpiece (No. 14). In their opinion, the attribution of the verso, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, is unexceptionable, but that of the inside, showing a *Marriage at Cana* is not equally evident. J. Roosval (123), devoted a few pages to the panel, *The Emperor Augustus and the Sybill*, at the New York Historical Society, which Friedländer had already listed in his catalogue of the master's work (No. 21A).

Most of the studies however, concern the portraits. In his iconography of Philip the Fair, M. J. Onghena (124) comments on the many portraits of this Prince, a number of which are attributed to the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene (125). P. Wescher (126) examined the portraits by this master in the context of the evolution of royal portraiture in the Netherlands, whereas G. Glück (127) analyzed the various portraits of Christian II of Denmark, among them those painted by our master (Nos. 28 and 28a). G. Van Camp (128) put forward new arguments in favour of the identification of the Brussels *Portrait of a Man* (No. 44) as Jean de Luxembourg.

M. Takács (129) dated the *Portrait of Mary of Hungary* (No. 34) acquired by the Budapest museum, between 1526 and 1530. The *Portrait of Margaret of Austria* in the Louvre (No. 33) is generally dated about 1495. But among accounts of the French court of 1484-1485, H. Adhémar (130), discovered a description of a dress made for this princess, which corresponds to the one she is shown wearing in the Louvre portrait. The presumed *Portrait of Philip the Fair* formerly in the collection of the Count de Montferrand (No. 31a) moreover seems to be a pendant to the Louvre portrait. If this is true, it would represent Charles VIII, Margaret's first husband. The author came to the conclusion that both portraits may have been painted about 1485-1486 by a French master, during Margaret's stay at the French Court.

A *Portrait of a Gentleman* in the Berlin Museum (131), attributed to the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene but not listed by Friedländer, was identified as Ferdinand the Catholic by B.A. Iñiguez (132). Another version of this portrait is kept at the Poitiers museum (133).

Otto Benesch [134] suggested a new identification for the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. His thesis is based on a drawing in the Louvre, showing a *Landscape with Jerusalem*. This landscape appears also in a painting by the same master in the Vienna museum (No. 77), representing a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. The Louvre drawing carries a French inscription and the name *Hans Vereycken*. According to G. Hulin de Loo [135] this painter, mentioned in Van Mander's *Schilderboeck* would be none other than Jan van Eecke who was recorded as a master in Bruges in 1534 and died in 1561. Benesch's thesis has not been accepted by the several authors [136] who subsequently studied the problem [137]. According to G. Marlier [138], the Master of the Female Half-Length and Hans Vereycke are two distinct painters, who may have collaborated on some occasions. Commenting on the *Magdalene* in Cracow (No. 91a) and the one in Poznan (No. 104), M. Rostworowski [139] observed notable discrepancies in the paintings catalogued under the name of the Master of the Female Half-Lengths and came to the conclusion that this name covers several hands.

In his book on Patenier, R. A. Koch [140] presented the Master of the Female Half-Lengths under new aspects, particularly as a landscape painter. He listed under his name 13 landscapes, some of which carry the name of Patenier [141]. About ten other pictures were given to the Master of the Female Half-Lengths by J. Hernandez Perera [142] in his catalogue of the master's paintings in Spanish collections. D. Schubert [143] added two more *Lucretia's* to the master's oeuvre.

The *Flight into Egypt* in the North Carolina Museum of Arts in Raleigh [144], already attributed to the master by R. A. Koch [145], is the subject of a thorough study by J. Combs Stuebe [146].

On the occasion of the restoration of the *Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi* in the Berlin Museum (No. 47), G. Herbert [147] published a detailed report concerning the restoration and technique of this painting.

JEAN BELLEGAMBE

Most of the studies on Bellegambe are by G. Genaille, who wrote a thesis on the master as long ago as 1934 [148]. Later on, he wrote the introduction and notes for the catalogue of the Bellegambe exhibition held in Arras in 1951 [149]. Genaille sought to trace Bellegambe's style back to the artistic milieu of Valenciennes, particularly the circle of Simon Marmion and Jan Provost [150]. Long in thrall to 15th century tradition, Bellegambe yielded only tardily to the Italian influence [151]. Bellegambe's *Altarpiece of the Lamentation* in Warsaw (No. 120), which Genaille dates about 1495 [152], probably marks the beginning of his career. Like Genaille [153], J. G. van Gelder [154] has drawn attention to the problem of the identification of the donors in the *Altarpiece of the Holy Trinity* at Lille (No. 120). The iconography, provenance and date of the *Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned* (No. 119) are the subject of another study by Genaille [155], and so is the *Polyptych of Anchin* (No. 114) [156]. Ch. Sterling and E. S. King [157]

have succeeded in reconstituting the triptych of which the *Holy Family* at the Brussels Museum (No. 131) was the centrepiece 11581. R. Genaille 11591 disputes that the *Last Judgment* and *The Virgin with the Protecting Cloak* (No. 130) are by Bellegambe and gives them to Jan Provost. The *Diptych of Jeanne de Boubais* at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (No. 123) could be by the hand of the painter Gobin de Valenciennes 11601, according to Genaille 11611, who also considers that *The Martyrdom of St. Peter* (No. 136), *The Conversion of St. Paul* (No. 135) and the *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion* at Lützschena (No. 117) are not works by Bellegambe. Lastly, some pictures have been added to the catalogue of Jean Bellegambe's oeuvre by various authors: an *Altarpiece of the Annunciation* 11621, an *Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child, St. George (?) and a Benedictine Monk* 11631, an *Altarpiece of the Virgin of the Litanies* 11641, and a *St. Anne* 11651.

DIRK VELLERT AND AERT ORTKELS

J. Vuyck 11661 has added to the catalogue of Dirk Vellert a triptych representing *The Holy Family with Angels* on the centrepiece, and *Sts. Catherine and Barbara* on the wings 11671. K. G. Boon 11681 has discovered two drawings for the stained glass windows in the King's College Chapel in Cambridge 11691, and another drawing showing *The Consecration of St. Nicholas of Myra*, probably a sketch for a lost stained glass window for Antwerp Cathedral 11701. For the Cambridge windows, we refer to the volume dedicated to them in the *Corpus Vitrearum* series 11711.

P. Wescher 11721 ascribes to J. Gossart two works considered by Friedländer as by Dirk Vellert (Nos. 139 and 140) as well as the Kremsmünster panel 11731.

Let us mention lastly that according to H. Wayment 11741, the stained glass oeuvre of Aert Ortkens and that of the draughtsman Arnold van Nymegen are in fact by one person, Adriaen van den Houde.

PIETER COECK

Since publication of Friedländer's last volume, A Corbet has provided the first succinct monograph on Pieter Coeck 11751. G. Marlier 11761 came back to this complex subject with another important work that studied Coeck's relationship to his predecessors, especially the Master of 1518 and his contemporaries. Marlier also examined Coeck's activities in the various fields of painting, drawing, tapestry, stained glass, architecture, etc., as well as his contribution to the blossoming of the Italian Renaissance style in the Southern Netherlands.

Not a single painting by this master is authenticated by signature or documentation, but the Lisbon *Altarpiece of the Deposition*, mentioned in a 1585 document, does offer a fairly solid basis (Add. 418, Plate 215) 11771. L. van Puyvelde 11781 was first to draw attention to the relationship between altarpiece and document. The work was subsequently studied more thoroughly by G. Marlier 11791 and P. Wescher 11801.

More new attributions (181) have been put forward by S. Sebastian (182), M. Timmers (183), N. Nikulin (184) and P. Wescher (185).

For a most exhaustive analysis of the *Last Supper* in Brussels (No. 151) in respect of the origins of its composition as well as its iconographical content we are indebted to W. Krönig (186). As for the Karlsruhe triptych (No. 144), R. Genaille (187) believes that it represents a *Glorification of Christ* rather than a *Resurrection* in the traditional sense of the term.

In the field of drawings we wish to mention some new attributions made by O. Wittmann (188), P. Wescher (189) and O. Benesch (190).

Even before the publication of his monograph, G. Marlier (191) had already studied the woodcut series *Moeurs et Fachons de faire des Turcs...*, stemming from Coeck's journey to Turkey.

Thanks to the findings of J. K. Steppe (192), the iconography of the set of tapestries, *The Seven Mortal Sins*, has been clarified. Attribution of the designs to Pieter Coeck is corroborated in a document dating from the middle of the 16th century. The designs for another set, *The Triumphs of John de Castro* (193), have been attributed quite recently to Pieter Coeck by B. Thomas (194).

Lastly, mention should be made of some studies concerning Pieter Coeck's contributions to the decor set up for the triumphal entry of Prince Philip in Antwerp in 1549 (195) and to his publication of books by Vitruvius and Serlio (196).

MARINUS VAN REYMERSWAELE

L. van Puyvelde has twice written about Marinus van Reymerswaele. In a first study (197) he traced the evolution of the theme of the *Tax Gatherers* in van Reymerswaele's work, and in the second publication (198) he reviewed the development of the painter's entire oeuvre.

The meaning of the *Tax Gatherers* and *Bankers* compositions has been studied by H. van Warveke (199). Taking as a basis the texts found on the paintings, he came to the conclusion that the figures shown are money-changers, bankers and municipal paymasters rather than usurers, and that it is wrong to read a satirical meaning into these works. The texts shown on a painting acquired by the Isaac Delgado Museum at New Orleans (200) are the subject of a very thorough study by A. Monballieu (201). These documents are apparently connected with a law suit concerning a saltmine at Reymerswaele and the picture seems to represent a lawyer's office.

A still-life (202) dated 1538, acquired by the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller at Otterlo, has been ascribed to Reymerswaele by R. Genaille (203), but this attribution is questioned by A. M. Hammacher (204).

JAN SANDERS VAN HEMESSEN AND THE BRUNSWICK MONOGRAMMATIST

To untangle the very involved literature on this master, we shall first deal with

publications in which Jan Sanders van Hemessen and the works attributed to him are the sole or, at least, the main subjects. The problem of whether he is identical with the Brunswick Monogrammatist does, of course, lead to some overlapping and is discussed by most of the authors.

P. Wescher (205) offers us a valuable survey of the painter's development and stresses especially his significance in the genesis of the genre picture in the Netherlands. B. Wallen (206) follows the painter's evolution under a less-known aspect: the portraits. Influences by Bronzino, Gossaert, the Italian Renaissance and, later on, supposed contacts with Fontainebleau, the austere Venetian portrait style, M. Coxie and probably Frans Floris, etc., demonstrate van Hemessen's receptivity.

It is not certain that Jan van Hemessen undertook a journey to Italy. L. van Puyvelde (207) thought he had found proof in an inscription and a signed painting owned by the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh (208).

Two works already listed by Friedländer have been the subject of discussion: a *Virgin and Child* from the Stockholm Museum (No. 205) (209) and a painting believed to represent *The Summoning of Matthew* (No. 188), bought by the University of Michigan Museum of Art. J. Snyder (210) was able to establish that the panel represents the *Parable of the Unmerciful Servant* and that the Forum of Nerva and the Temple of Minerva in Rome are shown in the background.

The oeuvre of this painter too has been supplemented. V. Bloch (211) discovered a *Lute Player* (212) a fragment of which was in Friedländer's own collection (No. 227). Bloch attributed the work to van Hemessen (213). Other new attributions are due to Díaz Padrón (214), R. Lebel (215), L. van Puyvelde (216), J. Foucart (217), P. Wescher (218), and B. Wallen (219).

As for the Brunswick Monogrammatist, it seems appropriate to begin by mentioning the various identifications proposed for this master (220). Friedländer considered Jan van Hemessen as a possibility. Among others, L. van Puyvelde (221) shared this view, against it stands the theory put forward by G. Glück as long ago as 1907 (222), namely that the Monogrammatist was Jan van Amstel, who stuck to this opinion (223). G. Glück was followed by R. Genaille (224), G. T. Faggin (225) and G. J. Hoogewerff (226), according to whom Jan van Amstel would be the senior brother of Pieter Aertsen, indicating a Dutch origin. G. Marlier (227) too believed that the Monogrammatist and Jan van Hemessen are two distinct masters but did not at the outset commit himself to the identification with Jan van Amstel. Later on, in his book on Pieter Coeck (228), he did accept this thesis.

In his study already mentioned in relation to Jan van Hemessen, P. Wescher (229) closely examined the problem and adopted a somewhat different view. He professed to see a collaboration between the Monogrammatist and Jan van Hemessen in some works (230), but gives the brothel scene and the background pictures in the Karlsruhe painting (No. 218) to van Hemessen. On the basis of the other paintings which the author groups around the basic painting in Brunswick, the identification of the Monogrammatist as Jan van Amstel seems most likely.

A third solution was proposed by S. Bergmans. This author first suggested (231) that Catharina van Hemessen may have introduced certain small pictures into the paintings of her father and then that the paintings of the Monogrammatist

may be the work of Meyken Verhulst, wife of Pieter Coeck. Jan van Amstel would be the painter of a *Deluge* (2321), which might serve as point of departure for reconstituting this master's oeuvre (2331). The works of the Monogrammatist would have been painted between about 1560 and 1570 and not in the 1530s, as generally thought (2341). In a more recent publication (2351), S. Bergmans abandoned the theory of a collaboration between Catharina and Jan van Hemessen and suggested that the Monogrammatist, to whom he leaves only four paintings, could be neither Jan van Hemessen nor Jan van Amstel.

G. T. Faggin (2361) cast new light on the work of the Monogrammatist with a series of new attributions. In addition to the known genre paintings and religious subjects with small figures, Faggin credits the master with some paintings with large figures (2371). D. Schubert (2381) went even further in this direction in a detailed monograph devoted to the Monogrammatist. He added a number of paintings with large figures (2391) and on the basis of this expanded oeuvre proceeded to draw a very different picture of the painter. He defined more closely the Monogrammatist relation and collaboration with Pieter Coeck, already suggested by G. Marlier (2401), and came to the conclusion that the identification with Jan Van Amstel seems the most likely.

JACOB VAN AMSTERDAM

Views about this artist have not undergone much change since the publication of Friedländer's Volume XII in 1935. No new historical facts concerning the life of this master, generally called Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen, have been discovered. Friedländer's refusal to identify Jacob Cornelisz. as the Jacob van Amsterdam listed in the Antwerp guild is shared by all subsequent authors as is Friedländer's unwillingness to split off any part of the oeuvre (see p. 61).

There is still little certainty about the sources of the master's style. A theory that the paintings by the Master of the Figdor Deposition should be considered early works by Jacob Cornelisz. has found no support (2411). The similarity of Jacob Cornelisz.'s early works, however, to those of an anonymous follower of Geertgen indicates a link between the two masters and also between the Haarlem school and the leading Amsterdam painter (2421).

Schretlen (2431) is the only one to believe that a series of woodcuts (2441) related by Friedländer to the Master of Delft, may be a work by Jacob Cornelisz., dating from before 1507.

Hoogewerff went more carefully into the various problems posed by works painted in the manner of Jacob Cornelisz. He grouped a large number of Crucifixions around the Amsterdam version (No. 264), giving the latter to the master himself (2451).

For some paintings research has yielded more precise historical facts. Noach (2461) identified the donor family on the *Nativity* in the Naples Gallery (No. 253) as the Boelens of Amsterdam. Scholtens (2471) went still further, identifying the painting as a gift by Margriet Dirk Boelensdr. to the Carthusian convent in Amsterdam, the port being represented in the background of the picture. The

same author has published a *Christ on the Cross* in the Antwerp Museum (Inv. No. 5073) attributed to Jacob Cornelisz. as likewise painted for a carthusian convent, probably the one in Louvain (248).

Among the numerous new attributions to this master, we note only the more important: a triptych in Aarle-Rixtel, Netherlands, which stands iconographically close to the Arnhem *Virgin* (No. 240), given to the master by Leeuwenberg (249). The donors represented on this painting have been identified by Swinkels as the Sampson family from 's-Hertogenbosch (250). Valentiner (251) ascribes to the master an *Adoration of the Kings* in Detroit, and Cramer (252) a *Circumcision*; Vallery-Radot (253) believes that a *Crucifixion* in the church of Joigny may be a work by the hand of Jacob Cornelisz.

Belonje (254) identified the sitter for the portraits in Paris and Amsterdam (Nos. 293, 293a) as Jan Gerritsz. van Egmont, and Boon (255) published some facts concerning the portrait of Jacob Pijnssen attributed wrongly to Cornelis Buys by Hoogewerff (256).

JAN VAN SCOREL

The work and the personality of van Scorel have been studied intensively since the Second World War. Knowledge about his work has been greatly extended and the list of his works has undergone many corrections. The start for all this was given by Hoogewerff (257) whose work led to the vast Jan van Scorel exhibition held in 1955 in Utrecht (258).

As for our historical knowledge concerning the painter, it is now possible to give a nearly flawless account of his life after his return from Rome, thanks to the offices he held, first as vicar of St. John's Church, and later as canon of St. Mary's. Miss Farlies (259) has published *in extenso* the documents relating to van Scorel kept in the Utrecht archives. It became possible to ascertain that van Scorel returned to Utrecht before 1524 and never left town again for more than a few weeks, with the exception of his stay in Haarlem which has been generally dated as from 1527 to 1529. Miss Farlies succeeded in pinning down this Haarlem sojourn more precisely, from shortly after 29th April 1527 to shortly before 28th September 1530.

As for van Scorel's youthful work, Wescher (260) was wrong when he thought he could identify the memorial piece by his master Cornelis Buys (261) completed by van Scorel.

The two groups of works on which Friedländer already expressed doubts—the portraits from the Italian period (262) and the portraits of the Bicker family—have been discussed by many scholars (263). Hoogewerff (264) considered the first group of portraits as the work of a Netherlandish painter active in Venice, whom certain documents name as Zuan Fizmengo. This attribution to an otherwise unknown painter has not found its way into the later literature (265) even though van Scorel's authorship remains very doubtful (266). The Bicker portraits (Nos. 384, 385), which Friedländer considered as possibly done by Martin van Heemskerck, have been finally connected by Miss De Jonge (267) to that

painter and this attribution, further elaborated by Bruyn (1268), has been generally accepted. Only Hoogewerff (1269) rejected it and created for this group a separate anonymous painter, the Master of the Bicker Portraits, who would be of East-Netherlandish origin. Linked up nearly always with these portraits, the family group in Kassel (No. 383) is given to van Heemskerck by all authors, including Hoogewerff, notwithstanding Steinbart's (1270) endeavour to save the authorship for van Scorel.

Hoogewerff has eliminated a certain number of other works from the supposed oeuvre of van Scorel, making it more consistent and homogeneous. He gave some pictures listed by Friedländer as doubtful or as workshop productions to a pupil he called the Master of the Good Samaritan or the Monogrammatist of Valenciennes (1271). The *Amsterdam Group Portrait of the Civic Guard* (No. 344), which should certainly be eliminated from van Scorel's oeuvre, he attributed to a Master of Squad A (1273). His endeavour to place another part of that oeuvre under the name of Vermeyen (1273) has found no following. Bruyn (1274) ascribed the *St. John the Baptist Preaching* (No. 325) to a pupil of van Scorel who would also be the designer of a series of woodcuts representing a *Lion Hunt* (1275).

The rediscovery by Guillouet (1276) of parts of an altarpiece painted by Jan van Scorel for the Abbey of Marchiennes gave occasion to study the Utrecht master's less well-known late period. After the discovery of the wings of the Altarpiece of St. Stephen, the finding of the central panel in 1973 confirmed the idea already put forward by Hoogewerff that a drawing in the Lugt collection reproduces the composition of the painting (1277). Van Gelder's study in 1966 (1278) of this altarpiece throws new light on van Scorel's late work. A sequel to it was published in 1973 (1279); here the altarpiece is reconstituted from fragments and drawings of two other altarpieces—of St. Stephen and St. Ursula—painted by Scorel for Abbot Jacques Coene of Marchiennes. The fact that a rediscovered wing of the St. Ursula altarpiece carries the date 1539 confirms van Gelder's supposition that van Scorel spent several years working on this important commission (1280), probably with the aid of his pupil Antonis Mor.

Some paintings and groups of works have been subjects of special studies. Miss De Jonge examined and reconstituted the van Lockhorst altarpiece (No. 296), rediscovered in several phases (1281), and also studies the Birmingham triptych (No. 301) (1282). Bruyn (1283) has drawn attention to *The Fall of Man* at Hatfield House, in connection with the painter's Haarlem period. The same author (1284) has published a few works created by van Scorel during a short stay in Mechlin, and from certain copies he studied a lost Altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*, once in Amsterdam, also painted during the Haarlem period. He distinguishes this composition from a later version, also known only from copies.

L. R. Santos (1285) published a *Virgin and Child* brought to Friedländer's attention in 1937 (Supp. No. 413). Ebbinge Wubben (1286) ascribed to van Scorel a *St. Sebastian* with its echos of Michelangelo, in the Rotterdam museum; and Swarzenski (1287) a *Christ Preaching*, at Boston. Researches by Baldass (1288) seem to indicate that the Obervellach triptych (No. 298) underwent major changes at a later time and may be made up of two separate altarpieces.

Miss Geismeyer (289) has written about van Scorel's portraits. The numerous replicas of his portraits of Pope Adrian VI (no. 350) are discussed in the catalogue of an exhibition held in 1959 and dedicated to the Netherlandish pope whose protégé van Scorel was (2901).

A complete bibliography down to 1955 may be found in the catalogue of the Utrecht van Scorel exhibition (2911).

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JAN VERMEYEN

In the sparse literature on Jan Vermeyen, Friedländer's cautiously formulated point of view is opposed to Hoogewerff's (2921), put forward with emphasis. The latter based his sketch of the artist's work mainly on van Mander's remark about the friendly relationship between Vermeyen and van Scorel. From this he concluded that the youthful Vermeyen was strongly influenced by van Scorel, and this induced him to attribute to Vermeyen a large number of portraits and religious works generally listed under the name of van Scorel or his school (2931). According to Hoogewerff, Vermeyen would have collaborated with the Utrecht Master also in later life, that is after 1540. He found confirmation in his identification of the *Portrait of a Man* in Cologne (No. 394) as a caricature of Herman van Gouda, the dean of the chapter of St. Mary's to which van Scorel belonged as canon. Vermeyen would have painted this portrait in support of his friend after a dispute between van Scorel and van Gouda in 1544 (2941).

While Boon (2951) stressed the probability of an apprenticeship with Gossaert—which is accepted by most authors—other scholars, among them Gerson (2961), continue to believe that dependence upon van Scorel remained decisive for the character of Vermeyen's work.

In 1942 Friedländer himself came back to his chapter in this book, in an article (2971) in which he discussed in depth the portraits painted by Vermeyen. To the twelve items already mentioned he added another two. He was less interested in the religious works. In his view the only important painting in this line was the *Virgin and Child* in Haarlem (Supp. No. 417), and he suggested that there was a certain link with van Scorel's work, although leaving open the possibility that it is a late work and may be thus somehow related to the few known contacts between the two painters around 1550. Pelinck (2981) voiced an extreme view on the nature of Vermeyen's work. He suggested that there may have been a link between Vermeyen and such Leyden painters as Aertgen van Leyden. He thus came to attribute some works in the manner of Aertgen to Vermeyen, while expressing some doubt concerning such other generally accepted works as the *Portrait of Erard de la Marck* (No. 390). Haak (2991) rejected these ideas with good reason. This author also turned against the exaggerated emphasis given to van Scorel's influence on Vermeyen, accepting Boon's suggestion of an apprenticeship with Gossaert. Opposing Hank's opinion that the *Portrait of Erard de la Marck* must have been painted before 1530, de Bruyn Kops (3001) put forward the notion that the angels with garlands in the upper corners of the portraits may indicate that the picture was painted after the death of the bishop in 1538.

Friedländer did not include this master, but since he has in the meantime dedicated an extensive study to him [301], we believe it right to give some biographical references here concerning this painter.

142 We find Jacob Claess van Utrecht, probably a native of that town, in Antwerp between 1506 and 1512 and perhaps later once again, in 1520. His work can be followed mainly in Lübeck, where he seemingly stayed until the end of his career. In the above-mentioned study, Friedländer gave a catalogue of 37 entries, among them a number of fully signed and dated works.

J. J. de Mesquita [302] provided additional details about the paintings published by Friedländer and added a few new items to the catalogue of Jacob van Utrecht.

Moreover, two portraits of P. P. Rubens' grandparents [303] have been published by F. Baudouin [304].

1. Oskar Reinhart collection, Winterthur, Inv. No. 92. Measurements including the original frame: 38.5 × 29.5 cm (round top). Inscribed EN IMPERIALES.
2. See Vol. VIII, No. 14b, Plate 22.
3. In 1938 on the art market, Vienna; 110 × 70 cm.
4. Auctioned at Fischer, Lucerne, on 2nd May 1937, No. 2228; 55 × 39.5 cm.
5. Inv. No. 5956.
6. Inv. No. Z 423; 572 × 200 mm.
7. 87.5 × 47.5 cm.
8. Inv. No. A 849; 40 × 42 cm.
9. The copies of both left and right side are now in the Fürstenberg collection, Herdringen, Inv. Nos. 540, 541; 65.5 × 31.5 cm, each.
10. 90 × 58—24 cm.
11. 270 × 387 mm.
12. 'Die inventie der Colommen met haren coronementen ende maten vt Vitruvio ende andere diversche auctoren opt cortste vergadert voer Schilders, beeltsniders, steenhouders, enz. met privilegie...ter begheerten van goeden vrienden uyt gegheven door Peter Coecke van Aelst an. MDXXXIX men-febr, tot Antwerpen (Branden 155).'
13. Cf. Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 379 ff.
14. Inv. P. Coecke No. 2; 201 × 161 mm.
15. Inv. No. 7851; 255 × 490 mm.
16. Inv. No. 7852; 173 × 180 mm.
17. Inv. No. 25127; 251 × 200 mm.
18. Inv. No. 1857.5.9.32; 178 × 275 mm.
19. For a detailed description and measurements, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 342-343.
20. For a complete study, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 310 ff.
21. The drawing shows *St. Paul Preaching at Philippians*; 254 × 485 mm.
22. The drawing shows *The Conversion of St. Paul*, No. 190; 258 × 415 mm.
23. No. 13279; 146 × 308 mm.
24. For a complete study, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 328-331.
25. Inv. No. 19204; 272 × 396 mm.
26. For a complete study, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 331-342.
27. The subject is *Idleness*; 222 × 385 mm.
28. The subject is *Pride*. Dated 1537; 211 × 211 mm, round top.
29. The subject is *The Enthroning of St. Nicholas*, Inv. No. 15.122; 441 × 538 mm.
30. Listed in Vol. XIII, No. 67a.
31. Listed in Vol. XIII, No. 67.
32. See Vol. X, p. 29 and note 9.
33. The date should be read '1512'. See K. G. Boon, 'Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (ca. 1470-1533). Het portret van Jacob Pijnsen', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, VII, 1963, No. 25.
34. This is probably the painting lost in the Second World War (120 × 79 cm), Kaiser Friedrich Museum No. 2134.
35. Vol. V, No. 30, Plate 22.
36. See note 33.
37. An award of a vicariate to van Scorel is mentioned in 1525 in the Utrecht Church Archives, and that of a canonry in 1527. Cf. Molly A. Faries, 'Jan van Scorel, Additional Documents from the Church Records of Utrecht', *Oud Holland*, LXXXV, 1970, pp. 12-13.
38. The missing part has turned up on the Paris art market in 1937. Since 1941 it has been in the possession of the Utrecht museum. Cf. C. H. de Jonge, 'Het triptiek der familie van Lockhorst door Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LV, 1938, pp. 63-66.
39. Probably Gerrit van Lockhorst.
40. Possibly St. Willibrord.
41. Possibly St. Thomas.
42. On the verso of the rediscovered shutter Sts. Agnes, Cornelius and Anthony are represented.
43. This altarpiece came into the Furstenberg collection, not by inheritance, but by way of the art market. The full pedigree of the work may be found in the catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, No. 11.
44. This portrait, lost in Louvain in 1914, seems to have been a copy.
45. The fragment, located by Grete Ring has been lost once again. Parts of the three altarpieces have been found and their reproductions identified. Cf. Editor's note p. 140.
46. Inv. No. 3577.
47. Auctioned in Paris with the Tudor-Wilkinson collection, 3rd July 1969, No. 86; 48 × 34 cm.
48. The centrepiece belonging to the shutters was auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 25th June 1969, No. 111. The reverses of the shutters are by Pieter Pourbus.
49. Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, Cat. No. 547A, 26 × 17.5 cm and Cat. No. 552A, 25 × 15.5 cm.
50. Inv. No. 2085; 40 × 26 cm.
51. 31 × 22 cm.
52. Inv. No. 4449; 36.5 × 27 cm.
53. Now in the D. Ramon Suñer collection, Madrid.
54. Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,

Munich, Inv. No. 4706; 30 × 20 cm.

55. The shutters have actually been inverted. The altarpiece is reproduced here as published in the German edition.

56. The altarpiece would no more be there. Cf. J. Hernandez Perera, 'Museo Español del Maestro de la Medias Figuras', in *Goya*, No. 49, 1962, pp. 2-11.

57. Listed in Vol. viii, No. 14b.

58. Listed in Vol. viii, No. 14l.

59. E.g.: Inv. No. 3013 (37.5 × 27.5 cm); Inv. No. 3044 (38 × 28 cm); a tondo (8 cm in diameter).

60. Auctioned in Berlin, 20th October 1936, No. 28.

61. On loan to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 845; 24 × 19 cm.

62. A. J. Pani auction, New York (Kende), 17th December 1942; 39 × 29.5 cm.

63. The same picture as the one from the art dealer Mersch, Paris. Cf. Note 60.

64. Cremer auction, Berlin, 29th May 1929, No. 26; 39.5 × 29 cm.

65. C(arlos) S(avelli) auction, 22th Decembre 1923, No. 57; 39 × 26 cm.

66. Niederländische Landesgalerie, Hannover, Inv. No. PAM 716; 36.5 × 27.5 cm.

67. Same type as No. 135, Vol. viii. Friedländer gives here the dimensions in inches.

68. Friedländer gives probably the dimensions in inches.

69. The panel has been pieced out below, left and right.

70. For the cleaning of the painting, cf. Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd revised edition, London, 1968, p. 117.

71. Inv. Nos. 997, 998; 54 × 43 cm, each.

72. Inv. No. 713; 29 × 20.5 cm.

73. Inv. No. 2175 (Douai).

74. According to R. Genaille, these two shutters form a triptych with *The Virgin of the Litanies* in the Douai museum (108 × 80 cm) as centrepiece. Cf. Editor's Note, p. 135, and Note 164.

75. Listed in Vol. iv, Add. 163, Plate 124.

76. The donor Paul Robyns, with pope Cornelius. Cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

77. Additions were made to the panels in order to give them a rectangular shape. In 1958 the triptych was restituted in its original shape.

78. Not St. John the Evangelist, but St. John the Baptist. Cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, *op. cit.*, p. 258, note 11.

79. In fact St. Severus. Cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

80. Cat. No. 703; 98 × 64 cm.

81. 115.5 × 82.5 cm.

82. Cat. No. 136; 88 × 72 cm.

83. Listed in Vol. viii, No. 73, Plate 56.

84. The dimensions are given here without the additions above and on the right. The dimensions including the additions are 115 × 155 cm.

85. Probably the painting in the collection of Conde de Peñalba-Marquesa de Argüeso, Madrid.

86. 86 × 77 cm, according to Schubert, *Die Gemälde des Braunschweiger Monogrammisten*, Cologne, 1970, p. 117.

87. Possibly the painting which was auctioned at Graupe, Berlin, 27th May 1935, No. 23.

88. This fragment belongs to a *Lady Playing the Lute* from the American art market, and now in the Berlin museum, No. 4/59; 102 × 73.5 cm. Cf. V. Bloch, in *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 98, 1956, p. 445.

89. A version of this composition, with shutters showing donors, is kept in a chapel at Aarle-Rixtel. See J. Lecuwenberg, 'Twee teruggevonden werken van Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xx, 1943, pp. 158-159.

90. The donors have been identified as the Amsterdam banker Pompejus Occo and his wife.

91. The donors of the altarpiece are Margriet Dirk Boelensdochter and her nephew Andries Boelens. Cf. H. J. J. Scholtens, 'Het te Napels bewaarde Kersttafeel van Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen', *Oud-Holland*, lxxiii, 1958, pp. 198-211.

92. A close version is in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

93. Cat. No. 409; 99 × 80.4 cm.

94. Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, Cat. No. 87; 118 × 103 cm.

95. Stichting P. en N. de Boer Collection, Amsterdam; 80 × 70 cm.

96. Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle; 104.5 × 89 cm.

97. Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz.

98. On the Rijksmuseum panel Korsgen Elbertsz. is represented with his sons Dirck and Albert and his son-in-law Heijman Jacobsz. The pendant, with the portrait of Korsgen's wife Geertruid van der Schellinck and her daughter, in its original frame carrying inscriptions, is in the Chapel of St. Agnes in Amsterdam.

99. 1512. See Note 33.

100. The sitter is Jan Gerritsz., from Alkmaar, bailiff of the Nieuwburg († 1523). Cf. J. Belonje, 'De afkomst van het geslacht Van Egmond van de Nijenburg', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, ix, 1955, pp. 42-43.

101. The missing shutters have been found: Supp. 416. Cf. note 38.

102. When restored in 1955 in Vienna at the Kunsthistorisches Museum it became apparent that the inscription has been added to it in the 19th century. Of the original signature only the following remains: *Joannes scorel hollandiua pictorie artis amator...* XX. The panel is deal rather than chestnut. Apparently the shutters were cropped at the sides by about 15 cm, at the top and bottom by about 10 cm. A thin strip has also been sawn off the top and bottom of the centrepiece. Baldass believes that the triptych was assembled in 1692 from a square Holy Kindred altarpiece and the shutters of a triptych, the centrepiece of which

had become lost. Cf. L. Baldass, 'Die Tafelbilder Jan van Scorels in Obervellach', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, ix, 1955, pp. 101-111.

103. On the versos of the shutters, the arms of Vischer van der Gheer en Cuilenborch.

104. The triptych has been painted for Hendrick Joostzn van der Strijpen van Duivelandt, churchmaster of the Nieuwe Kerk at Delft, probably about 1550. Cf. C. H. de Jonge, 'Jan van Scorel. Het z.g. Wezelaar-triptyek van Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, lxxviii, 1953, pp. 189-199.

105. See note 45.

106. A strip about 20 cm wide has been added on the top. The original composition was wider (as is also the copy, No. 317a).

107. Cf. I. Hiller & H. Vey, *Katalog der Deutschen und Niederländischen Gemälde bis 1550... im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum*, Cologne 1969, pp. 60-61.

107a. The panel was enlarged by a wide strip, added at the top.

108. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 295 × 463 mm. Cf. the catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht 1955, No. 118.

109. The first and last heads in the row of portraits are recent (restoration by Alois Hauser, Berlin 1900).

110. Several heads show traces of restoration: in 1667 by Isaac Willaerts (the portrait of Jan van Gorcum?), in 1900 by Alois Hauser (Jan van Scorel, Jacob Crol).

111. See note 44.

112. Jan Claesz. Diert, who died in 1573, was alderman and bailiff in Gouda. The name of his wife was Emmetje Teunisd. van Souburgh.

113. The inscription, added in 1629, suggests that the sitter was believed to be Quentin Massys: *Connubialis Amor de mulcibre fecit Apellem Qyintinus Metsiis incomparabilis artis pictori admiratrix grataque posteritas anno post obitum saeculari mdcxxix*.

114. A restoration uncovered a rose in the bottom right-hand corner of the portrait. A male portrait, considered to be a pendant, does in fact not belong with it. The attribution to van Scorel has been questioned. Cf. the catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, No. 32.

115. Restored 1554-55 at the Institut für Technologie der Malerei in Stuttgart.

116. Historical data about the donor family are to be found in P. Lefèvre, 'Le Triptyque Michault aux Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique', *Miscellanea Leo van Praetzel*, Brussels 1949, pp. 89-91.

117. The panel has been enlarged at the bottom and top by strips of 1.2 and 2.1 cm, respectively. The background has been overpainted.

118. The inscription runs as follows: *Mercurius. de. Gattinaria. Car. V. Imp. Cancell.* The medal was probably struck about 1530. According to the dress, the portrait would have been painted between 1545 and 1550. Cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, third revised

edition, London 1968, pp. 165-167.

119. The painting has been cropped below, above and on the right. The figure of Joseph has been overpainted. Cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., p. 236, fig. 176.

120. Fr. Winkler, in *Allgemeines Lexikon...*, (ed. by H. Vollmer), 37, Leipzig, 1950, p. 211.

121. *Anonieme Vlaamse Primitieven Zuidnederlandse Meesters met Noodnamen van de 15de en het begin van de 16de eeuw*, Bruges, 1969 pp. 130-150, 264-283.

122. U. Hoff and M. Martin Davies, 'The National Gallery of Victoria Melbourne' (*Les Primitifs flamands. 1. Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, 12), Brussels, 1971, pp. 1-28.

123. J. Roosval, 'Magdalenamästaren (Pieter van Coninxloo?) i Historical Society i New York', in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, Vol. 6, 1937, pp. 78-81.

124. M. J. Onghena, 'De Iconographie van Philips de Schone', in *Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Beaux-Arts. Mémoires. Collection in —8°*, Vol. 10, Brussels, 1959, pp. 68-72, 75-76, 78-80, 82-86, 89-95, 97-98, 335-337.

125. Nos. 30, 31, 32. The list of M. J. Onghena contains two new attributions: the portrait at Huis Bergh, in 's-Heerenberg (pp. 78-80, 24.7 × 15.2 cm) and another in the collection of Viscount of Bearsted, Banbury, Upton House, National Trust (pp. 82-83, 40 × 28.8 cm).

126. P. Wescher, 'Das höfische Bildnis von Philipp den Guten bis zu Karl V.', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 28, 1941, pp. 275-276.

127. G. Glück, 'Portraetter af Christian 1. og Hans Hustru Isabella', in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, Vol. 27, 1940, p. 16-17.

128. G. van Camp, 'Portraits de chevaliers de la Toison d'Or aux Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]. Bulletin*, Vol. 2, 1953, pp. 91-96.

129. M. Takács, 'Un nouveau portrait de la reine Marie de Hongrie à la Galerie des Maîtres Anciens', in *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 7, 1955, pp. 35-41.

130. H. Adhémar, 'Le portrait de Marguerite d'Autriche au Musée du Louvre et le Maître de la légende de Marie-Madeleine', in *La Revue des Arts. Musées de France*, Vol. 7, 1957, pp. 203-208.

131. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Cat. No. 1196; 36 × 26 cm.

132. Diego Angulo, 'Los retratos de los Reyes Católicos del Palacio de Windsor', in *Clavileño*, nov.-dec., 1951, No. 12, pp. 25-28; D[iego] A[ngulo] I[ñiguez], 'Un nuevo retrato de Don Fernando el Católico', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 24, No. 95, 1951, pp. 260-261.

133. J. Babelon, 'Sur un portrait de Ferdinand le Catholique au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Poitiers', in *Les Amis des Musées de Poitiers*, Vol. 7, May-July, 1952, pp. 2-3.

134. O. Benesch, 'The name of the Master of the Half Lengths', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th per., Vol. 23, 1943, pp. 269-282.

135. G. Hulin de Loo, *Bruges 1902. Exposition de tableaux*

flamands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles. Catalogue Critique, Ghent, 1902, pp. xxx-xxxiv.

136. E.g. J. Biatostocki, 'Nouvelles notes sur l'Album Errera', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]*, Vol. 4, 1955, pp. 233-23; R. A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, p. 57.

137. For a general view of the bibliographical survey on the rather complex problem of the identification of the master, cf. D. Schubert, 'Halbfigurige Lucretia-Tafeln der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in den Niederlanden', in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz*, Vol. 6, 1971, p. 109, note 38.

138. G. Marlier, 'Wer ist der Meister der Weiblichen Halbfiguren', in *Gemälde bedeutender niederländischer Meister des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Galerie Frederike Pallamar, Vienna, 1966, pp. 15-20.

139. M. Rostworowski, 'Dwa Obrazy Mistrza Półfigur Kobiecych na Wystawie Malarstwa Niderlandzkiego w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie (v-vi 1960)', in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1960, pp. 371-376.

140. R. A. Koch, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-65, 85-89.

141. Nos 222, 223, 243b, 244, 256, 257 (?), in Vol. ix.

142. Jesús Hernández Perera, 'Museo Español del Maestro de las Medias Figuras', in *Goya*, Vol. 49, 1962, pp. 2-11.

143. D. Schubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105. The two panels are on the art market, Munich, respectively at X. Scheidwimmer (35.2 x 25 cm) and E. Hasberg (77 x 35 cm).

144. No. 126, 65 x 63 cm.

145. R. A. Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

146. J. Combs Stuebe, 'Landscape with the Flight into Egypt: Patinir or the Master of the Half-Lengths', in *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Dec. 1970, pp. 3-6.

147. G. Hebert, 'Zur Maltechnik und Restaurierung des Berliner Flügelaltars von dem Meister der Weiblichen Halbfiguren', in *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte*, Vol. 13, *Kunsthistorische und Volkskundliche Beiträge*, 1971, pp. 24-28.

147a. Cf. Vol. II, No. 120.

148. The résumé of this thesis has been published by R. Genaille, 'Jean Bellegambe et l'école de Douai', in *Positions des Thèses soutenues par les anciens élèves de l'école du Louvre de 1911 à 1944*, Paris, 1956, pp. 143-148.

149. Jean Bellegambe, *Le 'Maître des Couleurs'*, [Catalogue], Arras, 1951.

150. Cf. e.g. R. Genaille, 'Le retable de Varsovie: La déploration de Jean Bellegambe', in *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, Vol. 4, 1963, No. 2, pp. 43, 46. The same study has been published in *Cahiers de Bordeaux*, Vols. 7-8, 1960-1961, pp. 169-177.

151. R. Genaille, 'L'italianisme d'un peintre du Nord au XVIe siècle', in *Revue des Etudes Italiennes*, Vol. 3, 1938, pp. 1-12.

152. R. Genaille, 'La déploration du Christ du Musée de Varsovie et les débuts de Jean Bellegambe', in *La Revue des*

Arts, Vol. 3, 1953, pp. 155-163. Id., 'Le retable de Varsovie...', *op. cit.*, pp. 37-49. The coats of arms allowed the author to establish that the altarpiece was commissioned by Georges de Mouscron and his wife.

153. R. Genaille, 'Le retable de Varsovie...', *op. cit.*, p. 39; Id., 'Le vrai sujet du Polyptyque d'Anchin', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1964 (1965), p. 17-19.

154. J. van Gelder, 'Scorel, Mor, Bellegambe und Orley in Marchiennes', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 87, 1973, pp. 172-173.

155. R. Genaille, 'Recherches sur l'art de Jean Bellegambe. L'énigme du retable du Cellier', in *La Revue des Arts*, Vol. 2, 1952, pp. 99-108; Id., 'La Déploration du Christ du Musée de Varsovie...', *op. cit.*, p. 155. Cf. also Ch. Sterling, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of French Painting XV-XVIII Centuries*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 18-21.

156. R. Genaille, 'Le vrai sujet du Polyptyque d'Anchin', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1964 (1965), pp. 7-24.

157. Ch. Sterling and Edw. S. King, 'A Bellegambe Triptych Reconstructed', in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 11, 1948, pp. 45-49.

158. The reverses of the shutters, *The Annunciation*, in grisaille, are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Acc. No. 37.288; 96 x 28.5 cm. The insides of these two shutters, *St. Catherine* and *St. Barbara*, belonged to the Chiesa collection and were auctioned in New York, on 27th November 1925, No. 42.

159. R. Genaille, 'Le retable de Varsovie...', *op. cit.*, p. 44.

160. R. Genaille, 'Jean Bellegambe ou Gobin de Valenciennes', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 21, 1952, pp. 59-63.

161. R. Genaille, *Jean Bellegambe... [Catalogue]*, *op. cit.* p. 11; Id., 'La déploration du Christ du Musée de Varsovie...', *op. cit.*, p. 157.

162. Leningrad, The Hermitage; 110 x 80—33 cm. Centre-piece: *The Annunciation with the Donor* (probably Guill. Bollart, abbot of Saint-Amand, and subsequently of Trond). On the shutters: Sts. Amand, William, archbishop of Bourges, Sts. Benedict, Trond, Bernard, William of Aquitaine. On the versos in grisaille: *The Lactatio of St. Bernard*. Cf. N. Nikulina, in *Bulletin du Musée de l'Ermitage*, Vol. 19, 1960, pp. 12-14; R. Genaille, 'Deux oeuvres de Jean Bellegambe', in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1960 (1961), pp. 85-88; Id., 'L'Annonciation de Jean Bellegambe', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., Vol. 57, 1961, pp. 5-16.

163. Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 1296; 30 x 22 cm (centre-piece), 42 x 13 and 43 x 14 cm (shutters). Cf. R. Genaille, 'Deux oeuvres de Jean Bellegambe...', *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

164. The centre-piece is in the Douai museum, 108 x 80 cm. The shutters, showing the donor with his family, St. William of Aquitaine and St. Francis, in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Chailly, (Aise), 102 x 33 cm (each). Cf. R. Genaille, 'Reconstitution d'un triptyque de Bellegambe', in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1961 (1962), pp. 7-20.

165. Douai museum, Inv. No. 138. Cf. R. Genaille, 'A propos d'un tableau du Musée de Douai', in *Arts*, 21st July 1950, p. 3.
166. J. Vuyk, 'Een Onbekende triptiek van Dirck Vellert', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 61, 1946, pp. 20-22.
167. Private collection, Paris. Replicas of the shutters were on the art market, Düsseldorf in 1934 (Stern Gallery).
168. K. G. Boon, 'Two Designs for Windows by Dierick Vellert', in *Master Drawings*, Vol. 2, 1964, pp. 153-156.
169. Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick (Maine).
170. Private collection, Amsterdam.
171. H. Wayment, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. Great-Britain. Supplementary Volume I*, Oxford, 1972.
172. P. Wescher, 'Neue Beiträge zum Schaffen des Jan Gossaert', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, Vol. 32, 1970, pp. 102-103, 109.
173. Cf. p. 30.
174. H. Wayment, 'A Rediscovered Master: Adrian van den Houte (c. 1459-1521) and the Malines/Brussels School', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 82, 1967, pp. 172-202.
175. A. Corbet, *Pieter Coecke van Aelst*, Antwerp, 1950.
176. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coecke d'Alost*. Brussels, 1966. Among the critical reviews, cf. W. Krönig, in *Kunstchronik*, Vol. 22, 1969, pp. 47-57, and Ch. D. Cutler, in *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 53, 1971, pp. 409-412.
177. On the centrepiece, *The Deposition*; left, *Christ in Limbo*; right, *The Resurrection*; versos, *The Conversion of St. Paul* in grisaille. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon Inv. No. 112; 262 x 172-274 x 84 cm.
178. [L. van Puyvelde,] in *Boletim da Academia de Belas Artes*, Lisbon, Vol. 4, 1938, p. 62.
179. G. Marlier, 'Le grand triptyque du Musée de Lisbonne, seule peinture authentifiée de Pierre Coecke d'Alost', in *Colóquio*, No. 19, 1962, pp. 33-39. Id., *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 75-86.
180. P. Wescher, 'Der Altar der Kreuzabnahme von Pieter Coecke van Aelst im Museum zu Lisbon', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 26, 1968, pp. 21-25.
181. There is no point in reprinting here the list of the new attributions made by G. Marlier in his monograph on the painter (*La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit.), to which we refer for this purpose.
182. Triptych, *The Adoration of the Magi*; left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Flight into Egypt*, formerly in the church of Santiago at Teruel. Now lost. Cf. S. Sebastián, 'Pintura renacentista de la primera mitad del siglo xv en la ciudad de Teruel', in *Teruel*, No. 20, 1958, pp. 205-218. Cf. also G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., p. 138.
183. *Christ Entering Jerusalem*. Limburgs Provinciaal Museum voor Kunst en Oudheden, Maastricht; 101 x 63 cm. Cf. J. J. M. T[immers], *Zuidnederlandse Altaarvleugel. Intocht van Christus in Jeruzalem*, in *Vereeniging Rembrandt tot Behoud en Vermeerdering van Kunstschaten in Nederland. Verslag over de*

Jaren 1958 en 1959, p. 25. Cf. also G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., p. 208.

184. *The Agony in the Garden*. The Hermitage, Leningrad, Cat. 1958 No. 406 (as Bernard van Orley?); 83 x 56.5 cm. Cf. N. Nikulin, '“Agony in the Garden” — Wing of a lost triptych by Pieter Coecke van Aelst', in *Bulletin of the Museum of The Hermitage*, Vol. 23, 1962, pp. 32-36. As the panel has been trimmed, N. Nikuline suggests a reconstitution of its original state and gives the original measurements: about 89 x 30 cm. Cf. also G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 204-206.

185. The Original Sin Vienna art market, 1922. This panel may be the one mentioned in an Antwerp document of 1580. Cf. P. Wescher, op. cit., p. 21.

186. W. Krönig, 'Das Abendmahlsbild des Pieter Coecke', in *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen*, Antwerp, 1957, pp. 161-177.

187. R. Genaille, 'A propos de la Résurrection de l'église Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Chaumont', in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, Vol. 1969, 1971, p. 14. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., pp. 278-282, considers a drawing showing *The Resurrection* at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, as a design for the centrepiece of the Carlsruhe triptych, but H. J. Tümmers, 'Eine Zeichnung Bruyns zum Xantener Altar', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 25, 1967, pp. 461-462, has been able to establish that the drawing was a project for the *Resurrection* by B. Bruyn in Xanten.

188. *Calvary*, Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Acc. No. 1932-198; 232 x 162 mm; and *Abraham and Sarah*, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Cat. 1905-1912, III, No. 131. Cf. O. Wittmann jr., 'Two Drawings by Pieter Coeck van Alost', in *The Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art. Harvard University*, Vol. 8, 1938-39, pp. 41-47.

189. *The Capture of Ai by Joshua*, Fr. Lugt collection, Paris, 270 x 337 mm; *St. Jerome in His Study* (design for a glass-window), Fr. Lugt collection, Paris, 215 mm in diameter. Cf. P. Wescher, 'Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1500). St. Jerome in his Study. Collection of Mr. F. Lugt; The Capture of Ai by Joshua. F. Lugt Collection', in *Old Master Drawings*, Vol. 12, 1937-38, pp. 58-59.

190. *The Circumcision* (design for a glass window). Library of the University, Warsaw. Cf. O. Benesch, 'Kritische Anmerkungen zu neueren Zeichnungspublikationen', in *Die Graphischen Künste*, new series, Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 16-17.

191. G. Marlier, 'Pierre Coeck d'Alost, peintre de la Renaissance flamande chez le Grand Turc', in *Cahiers de Bordeaux. Journées Internationales d'Etudes d'Art*, Vols. 7-8, 1960-61, pp. 25-30.

192. J. K. Steppe, 'De "Zeven Hoofdzonden" van Pieter Coecke van Aelst iconografisch verklaard', in 'De Bloetijd van de Vlaamse Tapijtkunst'. *Internationaal Colloquium*. 23-25 mei 1961, Brussels, 1969, pp. 325-327.

193. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

194. B. Thomas, 'As Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro na Índia, Museu de História de Viena', in *Colóquio*, No. 29, 1964,

pp. 16-21; Id., 'Die Wiener Tapisserien mit den Taten des Dom Joao de Castro in Indien und weitere Portugalsia in Wien', in *Alte und Moderne Kunst*, Vol. 10, 1965, 83, pp. 6-12. Cf. also Kl. Beitzl, "'Feguras de gigantes, dancas d'amazonas en muytos diabretes". Die volkstümlichen Motive in den niederländischen Gobelines der Wiener "De Castro-Serie"', in *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, Vols. 15-16; 1964-1965, pp. 210-238. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande...*, op. cit., p. 351, ranges this series amongst those of which the attribution to Pieter Coeck cannot be ascertained.

195. A. Corbet, 'L'Entrée du Prince Philippe à Anvers en 1549', in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint*, Paris, 1960, pp. 307-310; E. J. Roobaert, 'De seer wonderlijke Schoone Triumphelijke Incompst van den Hoogmogenden Prince Philips... in de Stadt van Antwerpen... Anno 1549...', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]*, Vol. 9, 1960, pp. 37-74.

196. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Pieter Coecke van Aelst en de uitgaven van Serlio's Architectuurboek', in *Het Boek*, new series, Vol. 31, 1952-1954, pp. 251-270; Id., 'Het eerste Nederlandse boek over Architectuur', in *Liber Amicorum J. P. Mieras*, Amsterdam, 1958, pp. 121-128; S. Schéle, 'Pieter Coecke and Cornelis Bos', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 77, 1962, pp. 235-240.

197. L. van Puyvelde, 'Un Portrait de Marchand par Quentin Metsys et les Percepteurs d'Impôts par Marin van Reymerswale', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 26, 1957, pp. 3-23.

198. L. van Puyvelde, 'Considérations sur les manières flamands. Marin van Reymerswale', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 29, 1960, pp. 77-86.

199. H. van Werveke, 'Aantekeningen bij de zogenaamde Belastingpachters en Wisselaars van Marinus van Reymerswale', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 12, 1949-1950, pp. 43-58.

200. 102.5 x 123.5 cm. Another version of No. 169. The painting has already been commented by A. Schouteet at the occasion of the exhibition held in Bruges in 1956 (*Vlaamse Kunst uit Brits Bezit en de National Gallery van Victoria*, No. 47), and by G. Marlier in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Brussels in 1963 (*Le Siècle de Bruegel. La peinture en Belgique au XVI^e siècle*, No. 214). The painting was subsequently mentioned by L. Van Puyvelde, 'Un portrait...', op. cit., p. 23 and id., 'Considérations...', op. cit., p. 77.

201. A. Monballieu, 'The Lawyer's Office by Marinus van Reymerswale in the New Orleans Museum of Art', in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1972, pp. 101-144. Published also in Dutch: 'Een "Advocatenkabinet" (1545) van Marinus van Reymerswale en een proces voor de Grote Raad te Mechelen', in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, Vol. 77, 1973, pp. 69-112.

202. 44 x 44 cm.

203. R. Genaille, 'Sur quelques tableaux d'Aertsen', in *Arts*, 27th July 1951, p. 4.

204. A. H[ammacher], 'Stilleven toegeschreven aan Marinus van Reymerswale (geb. ca. 1495)', in *Vereeniging Rembrandt. Verslag over het jaar 1950* [1951], p. 13. M. Roethlisberger, 'A propos d'un tableau du cercle de Reymerswale et Hemessen', in *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1966, pp. 65-67, attributes to the circle of Marinus van Reymerswale a *Calling of St. Matthew* (collection in Auvergne, France: 85 x 95 cm). This picture is another version of a painting exhibited in Warsaw in 1960, *Malarstwo Niderlandzkie w Zbiorach Polskich. 1450-1550*, p. 47, No. 28) which J. Biatostocki considers to belong to the 'circle of Hemessen or Reymerswale'.

205. P. Wescher, 'Jan van Hemessen and Jan van Amstel', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, N.S. XII, 1970, pp. 34-60.

206. B. Wallen, 'The Portraits of Jan Sanders van Hemessen', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXVI, 1971, pp. 70-87.

207. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Nouvelles oeuvres de Jean van Hemessen', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XX; 1951, p. 70.

208. This concerns the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 104 x 120 cm. P. Wescher, loc. cit., p. 36, also believes that van Hemessen sojourned in Italy. B. Wallen, loc. cit., pp. 76-77 accepts the possibility of a journey to Italy, but not on the ground of the inscription on the Edinburgh painting, misread by Van Puyvelde. Cf. also *National Gallery of Scotland Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture*, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 124, No. 78.

209. Å. Bengtsson, 'Maria med barnet av J. Sanders van Hemessen', in *Femtio år Femtio Mästerverk. Årsbok för Svenska Statens Konstsamlingar*, IX, 1961, pp. 28-30.

210. J. Snyder, 'The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant painted by Jan Sanders van Hemessen', in *The University of Michigan Museum of Art Bulletin*, I, 1965-1966, pp. 3-13.

211. V. Bloch, 'A Luteplayer by Jan van Hemessen', in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1956, pp. 445-446.

212. 102 x 73.5 cm. Now together with the fragment in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, Inv. 4/59.

213. In connection with the attribution of this work to the Brunswick Monogrammatist, cf. below.

214. M. Díaz Padrón, 'Una tabla de Jan de Hemessen en el Museo Provincial de Toledo', in *Arte Español. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte*, 25/18, 1963-1966, pp. 62-72. The *Crucifixion*, Toledo, Museo Provincial, a replica of the painting now in Esztergom (No. 192).

215. R. Lebel, 'Une "Judith" de Jan van Hemessen', in *Journal de l'Amateur d'Art*, X, No. 181, 10 Dec. 1956, p. 3. *Judith*, 99.8 x 77.3 cm., Art Institute of Chicago. Cf. also H. Huth, 'A Mannerist Judith for the Art Institute', in *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly*, LI, 1957, pp. 2-3.

216. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Nouvelles oeuvres de Jean van Hemessen', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XX, 1951, pp. 57-71. *St. Jerome*, 101.5 x 56 cm, Brussels, private collection. *The Nativity*, 63.5 x 87.5 cm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (given to Pieter Aertsen by R. Genaille, *Arts*,

17th Sept. 1948). *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 104 × 120 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Cat. 1957, No. 78. Other paintings mentioned by this author are already listed by Friedländer (Nos. 181, 215, 188, 192). The *St. Jerome*, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, is considered by Friedländer, xi, No. 272, as a work by Ambrosius Benson.

217. J. Foucart, 'Peintures des Ecoles du Nord du XVI^e siècle', in *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XVIII, 1968, pp. 180-181. *Ecce Homo*, 132 × 175 cm., Douai, Musée des Beaux-Arts. *Extraction de la pierre de Folie* (probably an old replica), Périgueux, Musée. *Ecce Homo*, Tournai, Cathedral, given by Friedländer, viii, No. 110, to Bernart van Orley.

218. P. Wescher, 'Jan van Hemessen und Jan van Amstel', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s., xii, 1970, pp. 34-60. *Double Portrait*, 111.8 × 127.6 cm, signed and dated 1532, coll. Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Balcarres, Fife. *Apollo and a Muse*, 158.5 × 185.4 cm, Fenwick auction, London, Christie's, 21st July 1950, No. 43. *The Adoration of the Magi*, London, Kensington Palace. *Easy Company*, Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum. *Old Woman Drinking*, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland.

219. B. Wallen, 'The Portraits of Jan Sanders van Hemessen', in *Oud-Holland*, lxxxvi, 1971, pp. 70-87. *Portrait of a Man*, 92 × 73.5 cm., Warwick, Earl of Warwick collection (cf. also P. Philippot, in *Le Siècle de Bruegel*, Brussels, 1963, No. 134). *Portrait of a Young Lady with a Parrot*, dated 1534, Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein collection. *Portrait of a Lawyer*, 97 × 68 cm, Rome, Galleria Doria. *Portrait of a Man with Gloves*, 105.4 × 69.8 cm, signed and dated 1543, Great Britain, private collection. *The Agony in the Garden*, Zurich, Neupert Gallery (1940). *St. Jerome in his Study*, signed and dated 1557, London, F. Stimpson collection.

220. A good survey of the various points of view, more complete and detailed than can be given here, will be found in Schubert, *Die Gemälde des Braunschweiger Monogrammisten*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Niederländischen Malerei des 16. Jahrhunderts, Cologne, 1970, pp. 44-60; P. Wescher, 'Jan Van Hemessen und Jan Van Amstel', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s. xii, 1970, pp. 50-58; D. Schubert, 'Eine Zweite "Sintflut" vom "Meister des Augsburger Ecce Homo"', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xxxiii, 1971, p. 322.

221. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Nouvelles œuvres de Jean van Hemessen', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xx, 1951, pp. 68ff.

222. G. Glück in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, i, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 423-424 and *ibid.*, iv, Leipzig, 1910, p. 552.

223. Among others G. Glück, 'The Feeding of the Five Thousand in the Painting of the Netherlands', in *The Art Quarterly*, v, No. 1, Winter 1942, pp. 51-52.

224. R. Genaille, 'Jan Van Amstel le Monogrammist de Brunswick', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xix, 1950, pp. 147-153; *Idem*, 'La peinture de genre aux anciens Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th

per., xxxix, 1952, p. 245, note 2; *Idem*, 'Note sur une "Montée au Calvaire"', in *Revue des Arts*, ii, 1952, pp. 243-244; *Idem*, 'D'Aertsen à Snyders: maniérisme et baroque', in *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, xvi, 1967, p. 83, note 21.

225. G. T. Faggin, 'Jan Van Amstel', in *Paragone*, n.s. 175, July 1964, pp. 43-52.

226. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, iv, The Hague, 1941-1942, pp. 489-497.

227. G. Marlier, *Erasmus et la peinture flamande de son temps*, Damme, 1954, pp. 288-295; *Idem*, in *Pantheon*, xxi, 1963, p. 392.

228. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussel, 1966, p. 277.

229. P. Wescher, 'Jan Van Hemessen und Jan van Amstel', *loc. cit.*, pp. 34-60.

230. Among others in the *Luteplayer*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. Cf. note 88 and No. 227.

231. S. Bergmans, 'Le problème Jan Van Hemessen, Monogrammist de Brunswick. Le collaborateur de Jan Van Hemessen. L'identité du Monogrammist', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xxiv, 1955, pp. 133-157.

232. Brussel, private collection. Exhibited at 'Le Siècle de Bruegel', Brussels, 1963, No. 5.

233. S. Bergmans, 'Jan Van Amstel dit Jean de Hollande', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xxvi, 1957, pp. 25-36. D. Schubert, 'Eine zweite "Sintflut" vom "Meister des Augsburger Ecce Homo"', *loc. cit.*, pp. 321-328, showed that this *Deluge* should be given to the Master of the Augsburg Ecce Homo.

234. S. Bergmans, 'Note complémentaire à l'étude des De Hemessen, de van Amstel et du Monogrammist de Brunswick', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xxvii, 1958, pp. 77-83.

235. S. Bergmans, 'Le problème du Monogrammist de Brunswick', in *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, xiv, 1965, pp. 143-162.

236. G. T. Faggin, 'Jan van Amstel', *loc. cit.*, pp. 43-51.

237. Amongst others the *St. Jerome*, 84.5 × 62 cm, Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum; the *St. Jerome*, known by old copies (for instance Rome, Galleria Pallavicini, 83 × 100 cm); *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, known by old copies (for instance Munich, art market J. Böhrer); the *Holy Family in a Landscape*, (for instance Diest, Church of St. Sulpicius).

238. D. Schubert, *Die Gemälde des Braunschweiger Monogrammisten...*, *loc. cit.* Cf. also D. Schubert, 'Die Kreuzigung des Braunschweiger Monogrammisten im Clemens-Seis-Museum [Neuss]', in *Neusser Jahrbuch für Kunst, Kulturgeschichte und Heimatkunde*, xiv, 1969, pp. 18-28.

239. Amongst others, *De Pieta*, Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum (Friedländer, No. 194); *Virgin and Child*, private collection (Friedländer, No. 202); *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and St. John*, 96 × 70 cm, Cracovie, Wawel collection, Inv. No. 117; the *Luteplayer*, Berlin-Dahlem, Ge-

mäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen (cf. Note 88 and Friedländer, No. 227); *Harpsichord Player*, Worcester, Art Museum (Friedländer, No. 220); *Woman Weighing Gold*, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen (Friedländer, No. 221). Many of these items have been previously given to Jan van Hemessen. As for the other new attributions of small-figure paintings, cf. the catalogue by D. Schubert, *Die Gemälde...*, pp. 176 ff.

240. G. Marlier, in *Pantheon*, XXI, 1963, p. 392; *Idem*, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, loc. cit., pp. 274, 277.

241. See Vol. v, p. 96 and notes 121-123.

242. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. III, The Hague 1939, pp. 75-76.

243. M. J. Schreken, 'Een vroeg werk van Jacob Cornelisz.', *Oud-Holland*, LV, 1938, pp. 145-154.

244. See Vol. x, p. 33.

245. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. III, The Hague 1939, pp. 89-96.

246. A. Noach, 'Jacob Cornelisz en het geslacht Boelens', *Historia*, VI, 1940, pp. 226-232.

247. H. J. J. Scholtens, 'Het te Napels bewaarde Kerststrafeel van Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen', *Oud-Holland*, LXXIII, 1958, pp. 198-211. The author interprets the background of the painting as an allusion to the name of the Carthusian monastery in Amsterdam, *Portus Salutis Sancti Andrea*.

248. H. J. J. Scholtens, 'De Calvarie-groep te Antwerpen, toegeschreven aan Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen', *Oud-Holland*, LXXIII, 1958, pp. 233-235. The author sees a link between a Crucifixion in the Antwerp Museum (Inv. No. 5073) and a monk, Jan Ijsbrandse, who was admitted to the Carthusian Monastery in Louvain and travelled on to Amsterdam shortly after taking the oath.

249. See note 89.

250. K. Swinkels, 'Het Triptiek van Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen in de Maria-kapel te Aarle-Rixtel', *Brabants Jaarboek*, 1950, pp. 150-153.

251. W. R. Valentiner, 'The Adoration of the Kings, by Jacob Cornelisz.', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XXIII, 1943-1944, pp. 45-46.

252. H. M. Cramer, 'Een teruggevonden Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen', *Kunsthistorische Mededeelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, II, 1947.

253. J. Vallery-Radot, 'Joigny', *Congrès Archéologique de France, Auxerre* 1958, p. 142.

254. See note 100.

255. K. G. Boon, 'Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (ca. 1470-1533). Het portret van Jacob Pijnssen', *Openbaar Kunstsbezit*, VII, 1963, no. 25.

256. See Vol. x, p. 91 and note 129.

257. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, The Hague 1941-1942. The chapter on van Scorel and his followers (pp. 23-244) is a recapitulation of earlier publications by the same author.

258. *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, met

een inleiding van G. J. Hoogewerff.

259. Cf. the article referred to in note 37.

260. P. Wescher, 'Jan Scorel und die beiden Cornelis Buys, der Ältere und der Jüngere', *Oud-Holland*, LXI, 1946, pp. 82-95. The *Lamentation* he considers a work of Buys that was completed by van Scorel, is now kept at the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (Inv. No. 11208).

261. See p. 66.

262. See pp. 78-79.

263. See pp. 79-81.

264. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Jan van Scorel of "Zuan Fiamengo"?', *Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930, pp. 169-188; G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, The Hague 1941-1942, pp. 192-200.

265. Cf. F. Winkler, 'Jan Scorel oder "Zuan Fiamengo"', *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 172-178, and the subsequent discussion by Hoogewerff, 'Weerlegging van Dr. Winkler', *ibidem*, pp. 178-183.

266. Cf. among others: C. H. de Jonge, *Jan van Scorel*, Amsterdam, n.d. (1940), p. 12.

267. C. H. de Jonge, 'Vroege werken van Maerten van Heemskerck', *Oud-Holland*, XLIX, 1932, pp. 145-150, 240; C. H. de Jonge, *Jan van Scorel*, Amsterdam n.d. (1940), pp. 28-30.

268. J. Bruyn, 'Vroege portretten van Maerten van Heemskerck', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, III, 1955, pp. 27-35.

269. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, pp. 230-244.

270. K. Steinbart, 'Das Kasseler Familienbildnis des Jan van Scorel', *Pantheon*, VI, 1933, pp. 265-269.

271. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, pp. 214-227. The works he grouped under the name of this anonymus master correspond to Friedländer's Nos. 315, 308A and 320.

272. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. III, pp. 476-477.

273. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, pp. 262-278. Het betreft de Nos. 305, 314, 348, 357, 368, 387 in this volume.

274. J. Bruyn, 'Twee anonyme navolgers van Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LXX, 1955, pp. 226-229.

275. Cf. F. Winkler, 'Der Holzschnitt mit der Löwenjagd von Jan van Scorel', *Berliner Museen*, IV, 1954, p. 11; K. G. Boon, 'Scorel en de antieke kunst', *Oud-Holland*, LXIX, 1954, pp. 51-53.

276. J. Guillouet, 'Un polyptique de Jan van Scorel peint pour l'Abbaye de Marchiennes', *Oud-Holland*, LXXIX, 1964, pp. 89-98; J. Guillouet, 'Musée des Beaux-Arts de Douai, I Peintures récemment acquises', *La Revue du Louvre*, XIV, 1964, pp. 234-235; J. Guillouet, 'Un volet retrouvé du triptyque des "Onze mille vierges" peint par Jan van Scorel', *La Revue du Louvre*, XXI, 1972, pp. 79-84; J. Guillouet, 'La Lapidation de Saint Erienne par Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LXXXVII, 1973, pp. 149-155.

277. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, p. 144, and Guillouet 1964 (see note 82). This theory is questioned by K. G. Boon, 'Tekeningen van en naar Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LXX, 1955, pp. 210-211, but defended by J. G. van Gelder, 'Jan van Scorel in Frankrijk en Vlaanderen', *Simiolus*, I, 1966-1967, p. 19.
278. J. G. van Gelder, 'Jan van Scorel in Frankrijk en Vlaanderen', *Simiolus*, I, 1966-1967, pp. 5-36.
279. J. G. van Gelder, 'Scorel, Mor, Bellegambe und Orley in Marchiennes', *Oud Holland*, LXXXVII, 1973, pp. 156-167.
280. Earlier scholars give 1541 as the date for all paintings by van Scorel in Marchiennes. Cf. J. Foucart in the catalogue *Le XVI^e Siècle Européen*, Paris, Petit Palais, 1965-1966, No. 258; Guillouet 1973 (see note 82), p. 153. Van Gelder himself tends to accept the years after 1540-1541 for the execution of these paintings (cf. the article referred to in note 278).
281. C. H. de Jonge, 'Het triptiek der familie van Lockhorst door Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LV, 1938, pp. 63-66. For the iconographic interpretation of the wings of the triptych cf. R. M. Dippel, 'Kanttekeningen bij Jan van Scorel's Lockhorst-triptiek', *Oud-Holland*, LXX, 1955, pp. 253-256.
282. C. H. de Jonge, 'Jan van Scorel. Het z.g. Wezelaar-triptiek van Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LXVIII, 1953, pp. 189-199.
283. J. Bruyn, 'Enige werken van Jan van Scorel uit zijn Haarlemse tijd', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, II, 1954, pp. 51-58.
284. J. Bruyn, 'Enige gegevens over de chronologie van het werk van Jan van Scorel', *Oud-Holland*, LXX, 1955, pp. 194-207.
285. L. R. Santos, 'Painel representando "A Virgem e o menino" de Jan van Scorel', *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, I, Lisbon, 1946, pp. 24-29.
286. (J. C.) E(bbinge) W(ubben), 'Een teruggevonden werk van Jan van Scorel?', *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, II, 1951, pp. 1.6.
287. H. Swarzenski, 'Christ preaching by Jan van Scorel', *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, No. 294, 1955-1956, pp. 88-91.
288. Cf. the article mentioned in note 102.
289. I. Geismeyer, 'Selbstbildnisse Jan van Scorels?', *Mitteilungen und Berichte der Kunstmuseen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, III, 1961, pp. 60-67.
290. *Herdenkingstentoonstelling Paus Adrianus VI*, Utrecht, Centraal Museum/Leuven, Stadhuis, 1959, Nos. 347-354.
291. *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, pp. 97-106.
292. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, The Hague 1941-1942, pp. 256-287.
293. See note 273.
294. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. IV, pp. 269-270. Een samenvatting van de verschillende opinies over dit werk geven I. Hiller & H. Vey, *Katalog der deutschen und niederländischen Gemälde bis 1550... im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum...*, Cologne, 1969, pp. 137-138.
295. K. G. Boon, 'Vermeyen', in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Vol. 34, Leipzig, 1940, pp. 278-280.
296. H. Gerson, *Van Geertgen tot Frans Hals (De Nederlandse Schilderkunst, Vol. 1)*, Amsterdam, 1950, p. 55.
297. M. J. Friedländer, 'Neues über Jan Vermeijen', *Oud-Holland*, LIX, 1942, pp. 12-22. He added another two to the 12 portraits already listed in his *Early Netherlandish Painting*: a portrait of a man, dated 1554, in a private collection in The Hague, and a portrait, dated 1531, on the New York art market.
298. E. Pelinck, 'Een Heilige Hieronymus van Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, VIII, 1960, pp. 135-139; E. Pelinck, *Johannes Vermeyen—Aertgen of Vermeyen*, Leyden, 1962.
299. B. Haak, 'Het portret van Erard de la Marck door Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, XI, 1963, pp. 11-19.
300. C. J. de Bruyn Kops, 'Kardinaal Erard de la Marck. Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (ca. 1500-1559)', *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, XIV, 1970, No. 30.
301. M. J. Friedländer, 'Neues über Jacob van Utrecht', *Oud-Holland*, LVIII, 1941, pp. 6-17.
302. J. J. de Mesquita, 'Nog meer nieuw Werk van Jacob van Utrecht', *Oud-Holland*, LVIII, 1941, pp. 59-75, 135-147.
303. F. Baudouin, 'De Portretten van Rubens' Grootouders—Portraits des Grands-Parents de Rubens', *Bulletin des Musées de Belgique*, V, 1964, pp. 24, 25.
304. Antwerp, Rubenshuis, 57 × 38 cm each.

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1. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Annunciation. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



$\frac{2}{2A}$

2. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi (shutters). Great-Britain, Private collection. 2 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. Present location unknown



3. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Resurrection. *Present location unknown*



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4. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 5. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child, Centrepiece. *New York, Archbald van Beuren collection*



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6. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with St. Francis. Genoa, Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini. 7. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum



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8. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. Germany, Private collection. 9. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Present location unknown



10 c | 10 a | 10 b | 10 d
10 e | 10 f

Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Legend of the Magdalene. 10 a. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. 10 b. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. 10 c. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum (Destroyed in 1945). 10 d. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 10 e. 10 f. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum



10 b. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Legend of the Magdalene, Panel of the Centrepiece.
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



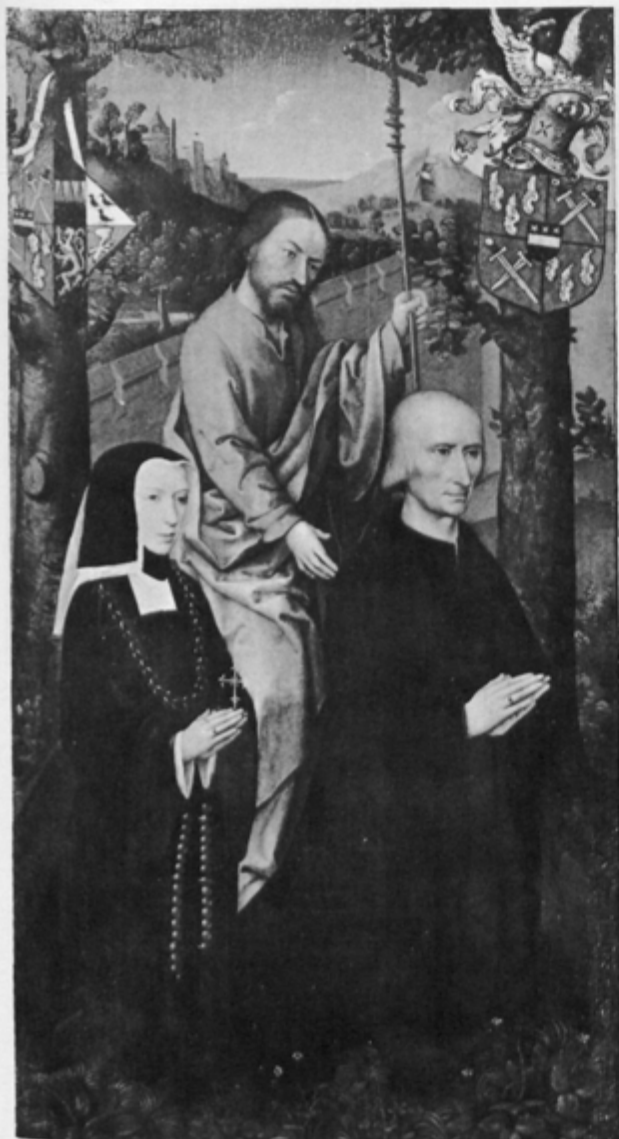
10 d. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Altarpiece of the Legend of the Magdalene, Shutter. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection



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11. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. A Pair of Shutters; Thomas Isaacq and His Wife with Their Name Saints. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 12. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. A Pair of Shutters: Sts. Dominic and Anthony with Donors, with Reverses. *Present location unknown*



13. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. A Pair of Shutters: Christ with a Donor Couple; St. Charlemagne with Donors. Newark, N.J., Newark Museum



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16 | 17

15. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Annunciation, with Reverse. *Münster, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*. 16. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Taking of Christ. *Present location unknown*. 17. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Christ on the Cross. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



18 | 18 A

18. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Lamentation. *Present location unknown.* 18 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Lamentation. *Present location unknown*



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19. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene, Copies. Virgin and Child. Bonn, *Rheinisches Landesmuseum*; Cologne, *Kunstgewerbemuseum*; Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*; Present location unknown. 20. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Virgin Enthroned. Antwerp, *Mayer van den Bergh Museum*



21. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Holy Family. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



21 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Emperor August and the Sibyl. *London, Private collection*



22		24
20 A		23

20 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Virgin with St. Bernard. *Amsterdam, Private collection.* 22. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Mater Dolorosa. *Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum.* 23. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Virgin with the Dead Christ. *Present location unknown.* 24. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. The Magdalene. *London, National Gallery*



25. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Scene from the Legend of St. Romuald.
Mechlin, Cathedral



26. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. St. Ursula Taking Leave of Her Father. Buenos Aires, Hirsch collection



26 A	27
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26 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Adolph of Cleves. *Present location unknown.* 27. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Charles V. *Present location unknown.* 28. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Christian II of Denmark. *Hillerød, National-Historiske Museum*



Plate
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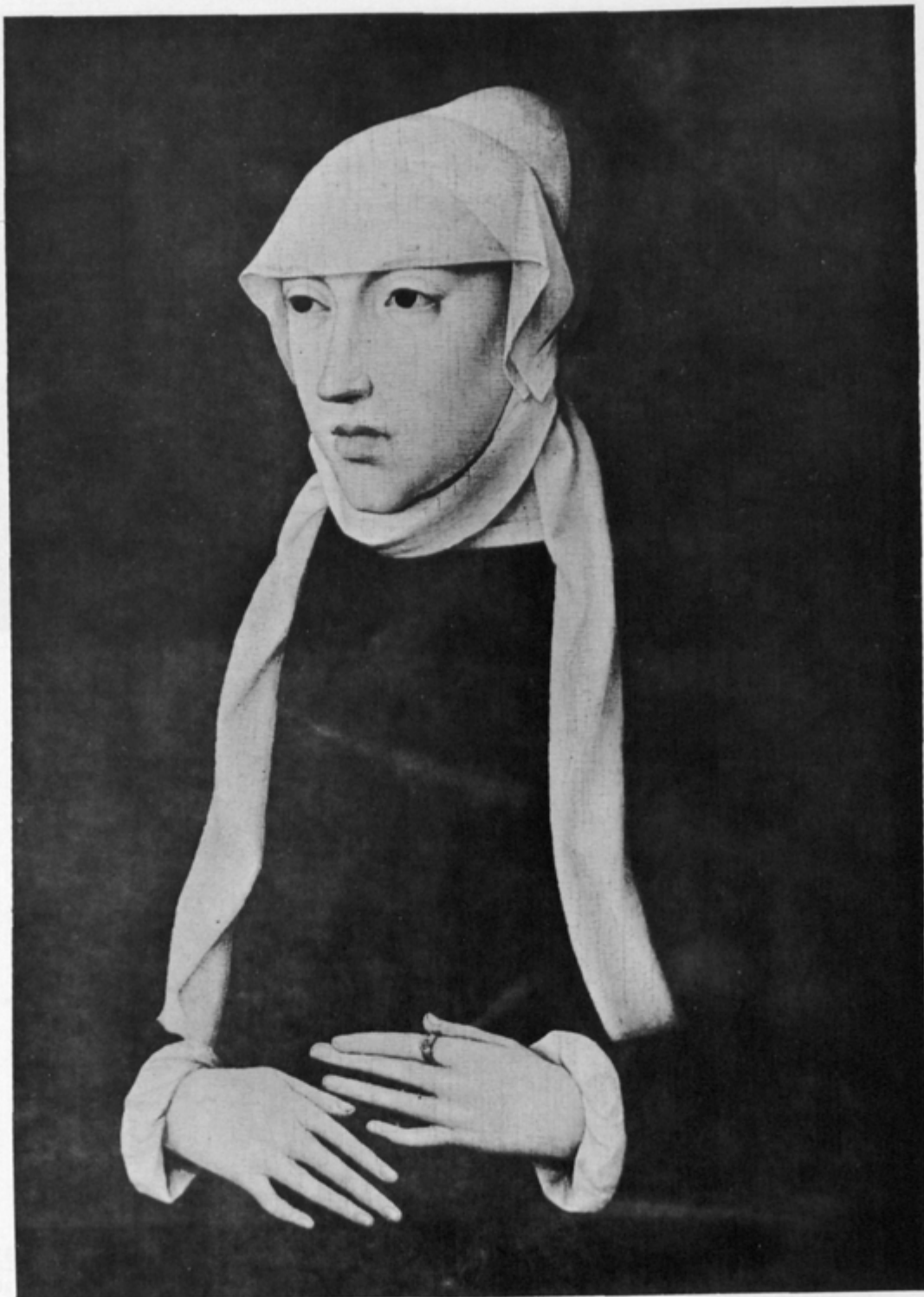
29 | 29 A
30

29. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Ferdinand of Austria. *Present location unknown.*
29 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Louis XII. *Present location unknown.* 30. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Two Pendants: Philip the Fair. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection;* Margaret of Austria. *Versailles, Musée National*



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31. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Philip the Fair. Paris, *Maison de la Chasse et de la Nature* (on loan from the Musée National du Louvre). 32. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portraits of Philip the Fair. Present location unknown; Windsor Castle, Royal Collections; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Paris, Musée National du Louvre



34. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Mary of Hungary. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts

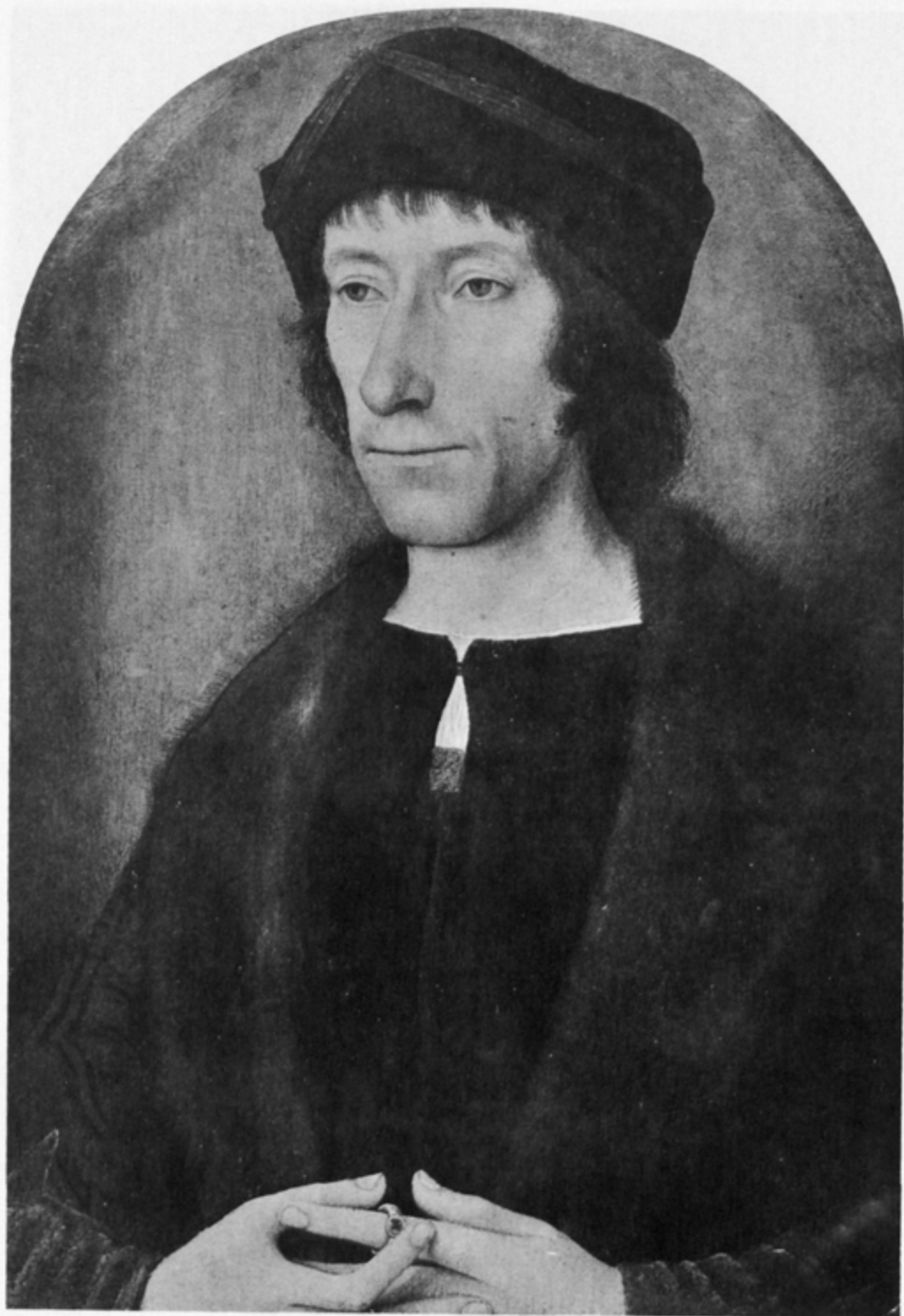


33	35
36	36 A

33. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of Margaret of Austria. *Paris, Musée National du Louvre.* 35. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Princess. *Present location unknown.*
36. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.*
36 A. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Bearded Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



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37. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Prague, National Gallery.* 38. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Knight. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.* 40. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Knight in Armour. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



41. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



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42. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of an Old Man. *Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe*. 43. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts*. 44. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 45. Master of the Legend of the Magdalene. Portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. *Present location unknown*



46. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Nativity. Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts



47. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum



49. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Calvary. Turin, Galleria Sabauda



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51

50. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. *Ubeda (Spain), Church of S. Salvador.* 51. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*



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52. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum.* 53. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Diptych: Christ Giving the Blessing; The Virgin at Prayer. *Present location unknown*





56. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Adoration of the Magi. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum



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57. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Adoration of the Magi. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 58. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Christ on the Cross. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.* 60. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Deposition. *Present location unknown*



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61. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano.* 62. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum.* 63. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 64. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.*



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65. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*. 66. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*. 67. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum*. 68. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*



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69. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 70. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 71. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Rest of the Flight into Egypt. *Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.* 73. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Virgin and Child. *New York, The Lehman collection*



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74. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Holy Family. London, National Gallery.
77. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Flight into Egypt. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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78. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.
 79. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. *St. Jerome*. Present location unknown. 80. Master of the Female Half-Lengths.
St. John on the Island of Patmos. London, National Gallery



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81. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. St. Catherine. *Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*. 82. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown*. 83. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Anholt Castle, Collection of Prince Salm-Salm*



85	86	87
88	89	90

85. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Paris. Musée National du Louvre.* 86. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 87. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 88. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Buenos Aires, Hirsch collection.* 89. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 90. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.*



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94	96	

91. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 92. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 93. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 94. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum (on loan from the Bontinck-Thyssen collection).* 96. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown*



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98. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle.* 99. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Courtrai (Belgium), A. de Witte collection.* 101. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.* 102. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 103. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. *Turin, Galleria Sabauda*



104. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. Poznan, Muzeum Narodowe. 105. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Magdalene. Present location unknown. 106. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Three Women Musicians. Rohrau Castle, Graf Harrachsche Gemäldegalerie



108. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Two Pendants : Venus and Cupid; Neptune and Thetis. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 110. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Lucretia. *Present location unknown.* 111. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Lucretia. *Rome, Galleria Colonna.* 112. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Head of Lucretia. *Present location unknown*

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108	111
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113 | 107

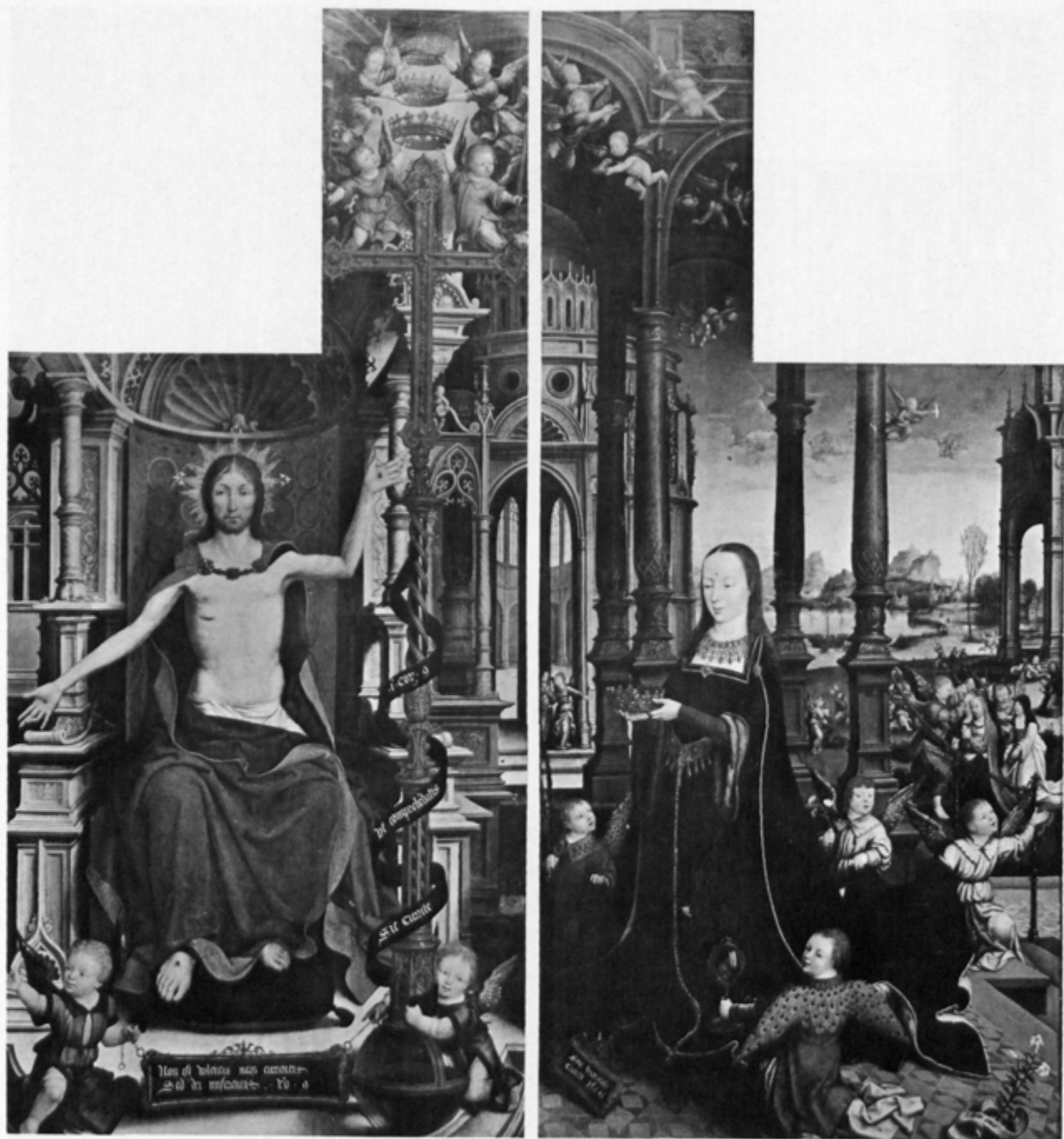
107. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Head of a Woman. London, National Gallery. 109. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The Judgment of Paris. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). 113. Master of the Female Half-Lengths. Portrait of a Gentleman. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts



114. J. Bellegambe. Polyptych of Anchin. Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse »



114. J. Bellegambe. Polyptych of Anchin, Centrepiece. Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse »



114. J. Bellegambe. Polyptych of Anchin, Shutters. Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse »



115. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Arras, Cathedral



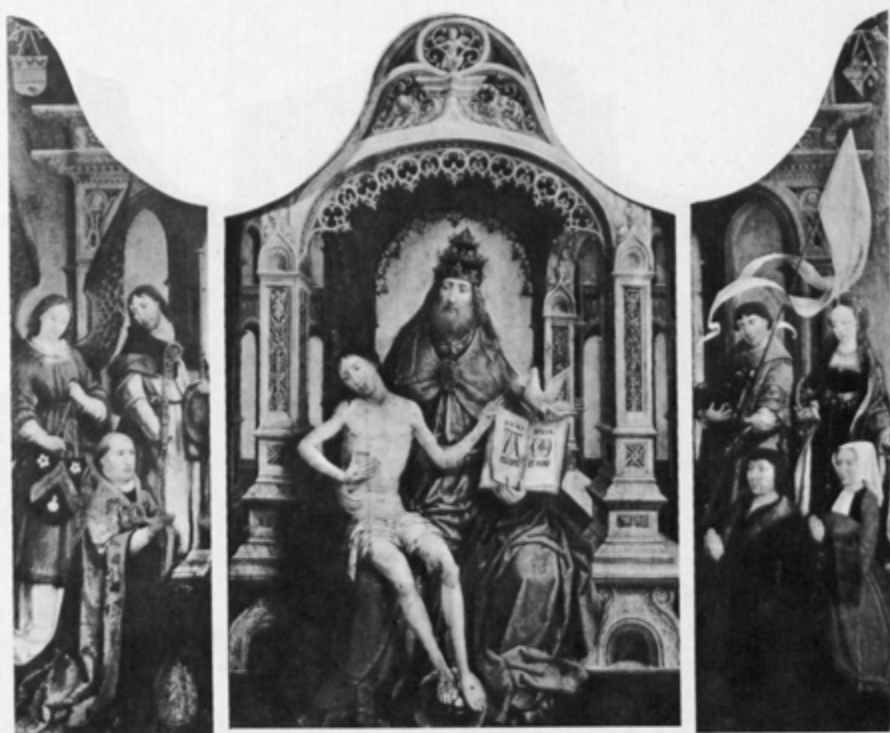
116. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Preparations for the Crucifixion. Arras, Cathedral



117. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Christ on the Cross. *Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste*



118. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe*



120. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Holy Trinity. *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts*



119. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art



119. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Centrepiece. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



121. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum



121. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum



122. J. Bellegambe. Altarpiece of the Fountain of Salvation. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts



123. J. Bellegambe. Diptych : Virgin and Child; A Monk with St. Bernard, with Reverse, Jeanne de Boubais. Pittsburgh, Pa., Frick Art Museum



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124. J. Bellegambe. A Pair of Shutters: Sixtus IV; The Donor Jean Poitiers, with Reverses: St. Joachim's Sacrifice; St. Anne Distributing Alms. Douai, *Musée «La Chartreuse»*. 125. J. Bellegambe. A Pair of Shutters: Donors with Sts. William and Francis. Chaalis, Abbey, *Musée Jacquemart-André*



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127. J. Bellegambe. A Pair of Panels, The Legend of St. Agatha (?). *Present location unknown.* 128. J. Bellegambe. The Nativity. *Present location unknown.* 129. J. Bellegambe. The Lamentation. *Present location unknown.*



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131	132

130. J. Bellegambe. The Virgin with the Protecting Cloak, with Reverse, The Last Judgment. Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse ». 131. J. Bellegambe. Virgin and Child. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 132. J. Bellegambe. The Virgin Enthroned. Present location unknown



133. J. Bellegambe (?). *The Holy Family*. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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134. J. Bellegambe. St. Adrian. *Paris, Musée National du Louvre.* 135. J. Bellegambe. The Conversion of St. Paul. *Present location unknown.* 137. J. Bellegambe. Abbot Charles Coguin as a Donor. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



136. J. Bellegambe. The Martyrdom of St. Peter. Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse »



139. D. Vellert. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans- van Beuningen



140. D. Vellert. The Nativity. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts



A	B
C	D

A. D. Vellert, Glass Tondo. Triumph of Time. Brussels, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*. See p. 27. B. D. Vellert, Woodcut. The Arms of the Painters Guild. See p. 27. C. D. Vellert. The Holy Family. Kremsmünster, *Kunstsammlungen*. See p. 30. D. D. Vellert. The Visitation. *Present location unknown*. See p. 30



D. Vellert. Altarpiece of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, *Brussels, Musée de l'Assistance Publique*. See p. 30



142. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Oldenzaal, Church of St. Plechelmus



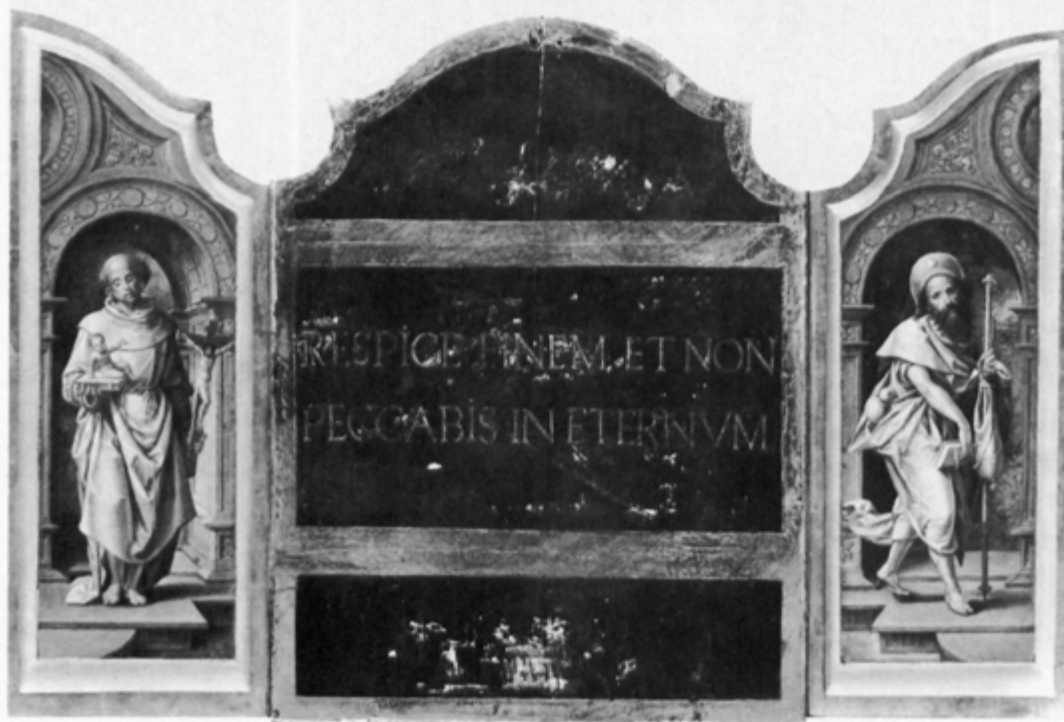
142. P. Coeck, Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. Oldenzaal, Church of St. Plechelmus



143. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown*

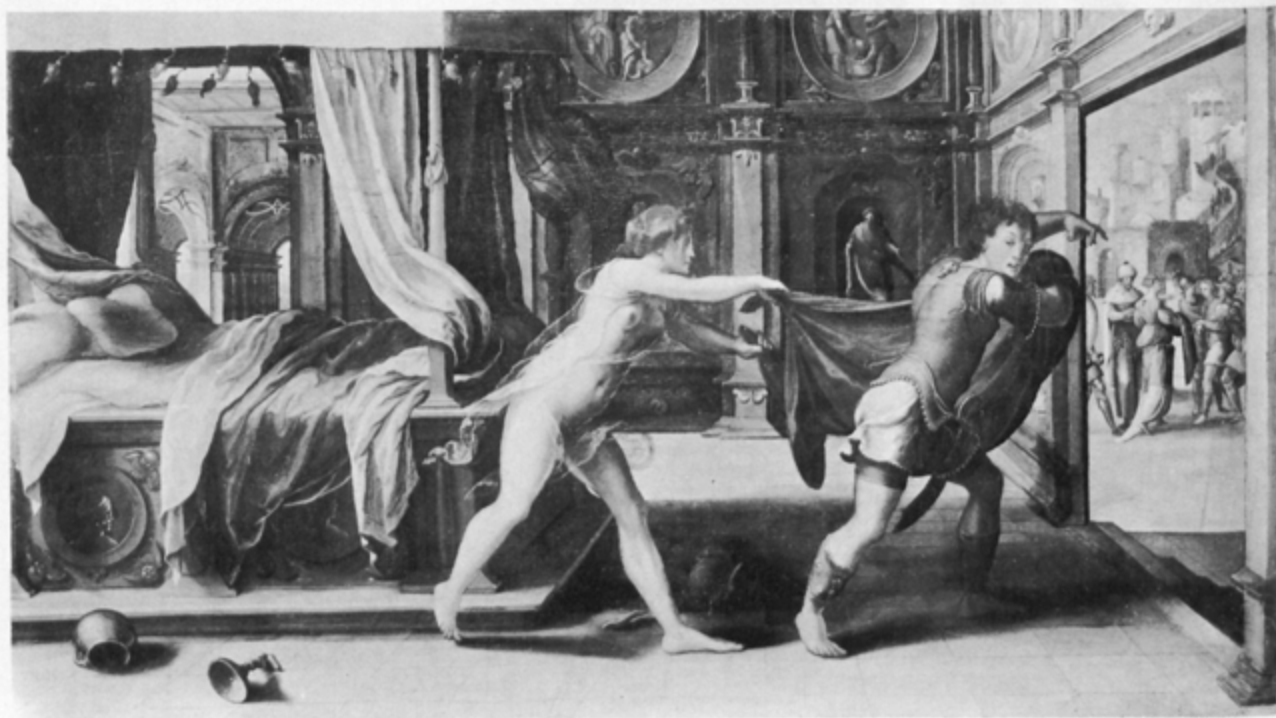


144. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of the Resurrection. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



145. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. *London, National Gallery*





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147. P. Coeck. A Pair of Shutters: Christ Before Caiaphas. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, (Destroyed); Christ Before Pilate. Berlin-Dahlem, Schloss Grunewald. 148. P. Coeck. Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. Present location unknown



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149 a

149. P. Coeck. Adoration of the Magi. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 149 a. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Utrecht, *Archiepiscopal Museum*. 150. P. Coeck. Christ Taking Leave of the Women. Glasgow, *Art Gallery and Museum*



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151. P. Coeck. The Last Supper. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*.

152. P. Coeck. Christ Carrying the Cross. Basle, *Oeffentliche Kunstsammlungen, Kunstmuseum*.



155. P. Coeck. The Flight into Egypt. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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154. P. Coeck. Virgin and Child. Kreuzlingen (Switzerland), Heinz Kisters collection. 156. P. Coeck. St. Martin. Present location unknown



153	157
	157 A

153. P. Coeck. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 157. P. Coeck. The Vision of Ezekiel. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.* 157 A. P. Coeck. St. Severus. *Present location unknown*



157 B. P. Coeck. Self-Portrait of Pieter Coeck with His Wife. Zurich, Kunsthhaus



A	B
	C
D	E

P. Coeck, Drawings. A. The Prodigal Son (?). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (See p. 35, No. 1). B. The Hebrews Crossing the Red Sea, fragment. Vienna, Albertina (See p. 35, No. 4). C. A gold-weigher and his wife with a aged client. Vienna, Albertina (See p. 35, No. 3). D. Orpheus Playing the Fiddle. London, British Museum (See p. 35, No. 5). E. St. Paul before Agrippa. Vienna, Albertina (See p. 35, No. 1)



A
B

P. Coeck, Drawings for tapestries. A. St. Paul preaching at Philipppes. Munich, *Graphische Sammlung* (See p. 35, No. 1).
B. The conversion of St. Paul, second project. London, *Victoria and Albert Museum* (See p. 35, No. 1)



- A
B | C
- P. Coeck, Drawings for tapestries. A. Joshua imploring Jehovah. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre (See p. 35, No. 2).
B. The Pride, fragment. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut (See p. 35, No. 3). C. The Idleness. Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts (See p. 35, No. 3)



A | B

P. Coeck, Two Glass Panels: Moses on Mount Sinai; The Virgin and Child. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum* (See p. 35, note 10)



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158 a | 158 b

158. M. van Reymerswaele. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation). 158 a. M. van Reymerswaele. Copy. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 158 b. M. van Reymerswaele, Copy. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Hamburg, Kunsthalle



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159. M. van Reymerswaele. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Ghent, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 160. M. van Reymerswaele. *Virgin and Child*. Present location unknown



161. M. van Reyerswaele. *Virgin and Child*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



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162 a | 162 b

162. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 162 a. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 162 b. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Douai, Musée « La Chartreuse »*



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163. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Berlin (East)*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum. 164. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Present location unknown*. 165. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Present location unknown*. 166. M. van Reymerswaele. St. Jerome. *Present location unknown*



168. M. van Reymerswaele. *Two Tax-Gatherers*. London, National Gallery



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169 a | 167

167. M. van Reymerswaele. Two Tax-Gatherers. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 169. M. van Reymerswaele. Two Tax-Gatherers with Peasants. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.
169 a. M. van Reymerswaele, Copy. Two Tax-Gatherers with Peasants. Present location unknown



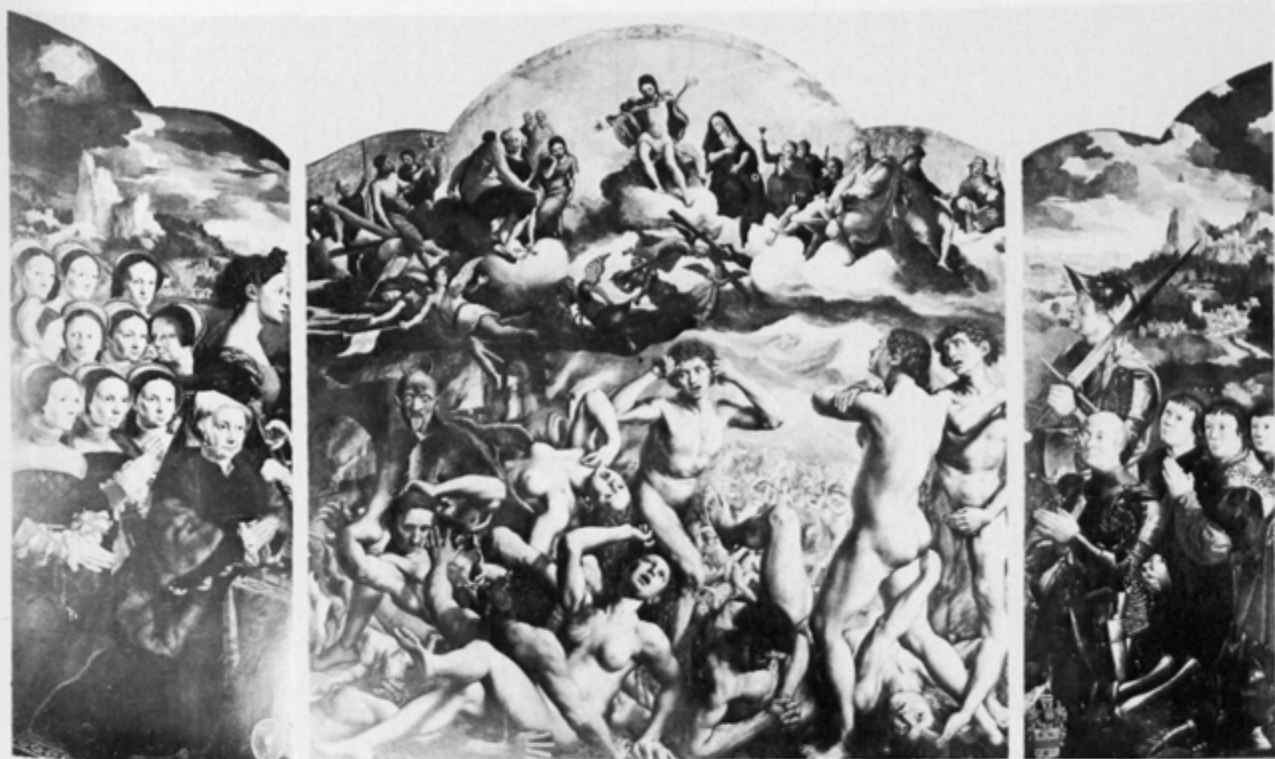
170
170 a | 170 b

170. M. van Reymerswaele. *The Banker and His Wife*. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de San Lorenzo* (on loan from the Museo del Prado, Madrid). 170 a. M. van Reymerswaele. *The Banker and His Wife*. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*. 170 b. M. van Reymerswaele. *The Banker and His Wife*. *Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts*





174. J. van Hemessen. Altarpiece of the Calvary. *Present location unknown*



175. J. van Hemessen. Altarpiece of The Last Judgment. Antwerp, Church of St. James



176. J. van Hemessen. Altarpiece of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. *Paris, Petit Palais*



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178. J. van Hemessen. Jacob Giving His Blessing. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.
179. J. van Hemessen. Jacob Giving His Blessing. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. 180. J. van Hemessen. Jacob Giving His Blessing. Present location unknown



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183

181. J. van Hemessen. *Susanna and the Elders*. *Present location unknown*. 182. J. van Hemessen. *The Healing of Tobias*. Paris, *Musée National du Louvre*. 183. J. van Hemessen. *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*. Nancy *Musée des Beaux-Arts*



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184. J. van Hemessen. *The Prodigal Son*. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 185. J. van Hemessen. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



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186. J. van Hemessen. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. 188. J. van Hemessen. *The Summoning of St. Matthew*. Ann Arbor, Mich., *University of Michigan, Museum of Art*





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189. J. van Hemessen. *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*. *Present location unknown*. 190. J. van Hemessen. *The Agony in the Garden*. *Present location unknown*. 192. J. van Hemessen. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. *Esztergom, Diocesan Museum*



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191. J. van Hemessen. *Ecce Homo*. Schleissheim, Staatliche Galerie (on loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich). 193. J. van Hemessen, *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Soestdijk Castle, Collection of the Queen of the Netherlands.



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194. J. van Hemessen. *The Lamentation*. Mainz, *Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum*. 195. J. van Hemessen. *Christ Giving the Blessing*. *Present location unknown*. 196. J. van Hemessen. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*. Linz, *Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum*



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198 | 199

197. J. van Hemessen. Sts. Paul and Barnabas in Lystra. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.* 198. J. van Hemessen. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 199. J. van Hemessen. Virgin and Child. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



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200 a

200. J. van Hemessen. Virgin and Child. *Wassenaar (Netherlands)*, W.J. Geertsema collection. 200 a. J. van Hemessen, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Antwerp*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 202. J. van Hemessen. Virgin and Child. Present location unknown



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203	204

203. J. van Hemessen. *Virgin and Child*. *Present location unknown*. 204. J. van Hemessen. *The Virgin Suckling the Child*. *Present location unknown*. 205. J. van Hemessen. *Virgin and Child*. *Stockholm, Nationalmuseum*.



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206. J. van Hemessen. The Holy Family. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. 207. J. van Hemessen. The Holy Family. Present location unknown



208. J. van Hemessen, *The Holy Family*. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



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210. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Minneapolis, Minnesota, Institute of Arts. 211. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Present location unknown. 212. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Leningrad, The Hermitage. 213. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Present location unknown. 215. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Hampton Court, Royal Collections



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215 A

214. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Genoa, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso. 215 A. J. van Hemessen. St. Jerome. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



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216. J. van Hemessen. *Nude Boy*. *Present location unknown*. 217. J. van Hemessen. *Removing the Stone of Folly*. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 219. J. van Hemessen (?). *The Bagpipe Player*. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*





220. J. van Hemessen. A Woman Playing the Spinnet. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum



221. J. van Hemessen. *A Woman Weighing Gold*. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



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222. J. van Hemessen. Portrait of a Gentleman. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 223. J. van Hemessen. Portrait of a Gentleman. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 224. J. van Hemessen. Portrait of a Nude Man. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek

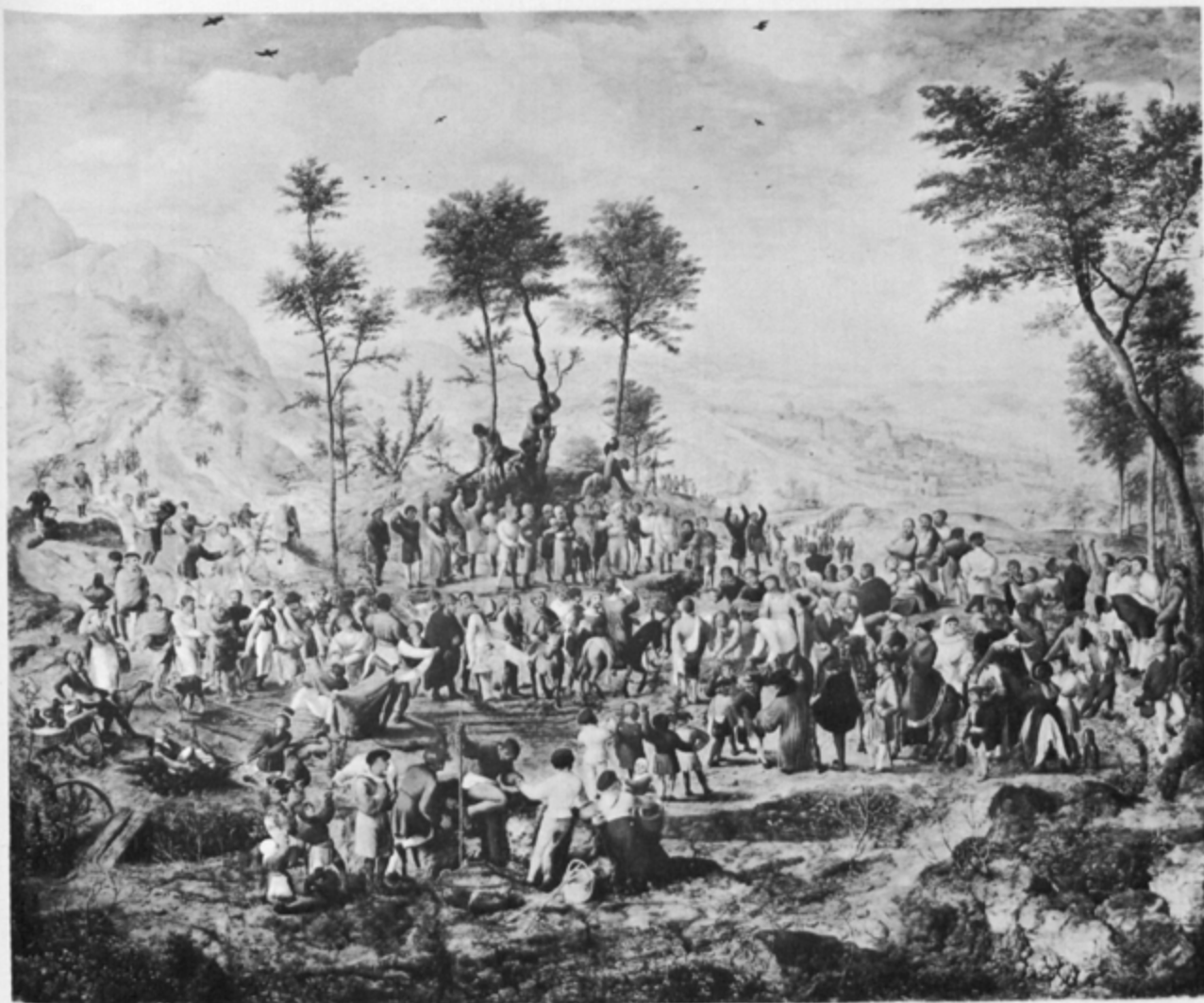


225. J. van Hemessen (?). Portrait of a Lady. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



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226. Brunswick Monogrammatist. *Abraham's Sacrifice*. Paris, Musée National du Louvre. 227. Brunswick Monogrammatist. *Christ with Companions*. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 229. Brunswick Monogrammatist. *Ecce Homo*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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228. Brunswick Monogrammatist. Christ Entering Jerusalem. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. 234. Brunswick Monogrammatist. A Couple of Lovers Outdoors. Brunswick, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum



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230. Brunswick Monogrammatist. Christ Carrying the Cross. Paris, Musée National du Louvre. 231. Brunswick Monogrammatist. Christ Carrying the Cross. Amsterdam, Mrs. N. de Boer collection



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232. Brunswick Monogrammatist. *The Crucifixion*. Basle, *Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum*. 233. Brunswick Monogrammatist. *The Feeding of the Poor*. Brunswick, *Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum*



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235. Brunswick Monogrammatist. A Party in a Public House. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 236. Brunswick Monogrammatist. A Party in a Public House. Frankfurt, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut*



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237. Brunswick Monogrammatist. A Party in a Public House. *Present location unknown.* 238 a. Brunswick Monogrammatist, Copy. An Inn with Acrobats and a Bagpipe Player. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 238 b. Brunswick Monogrammatist, Copy. An Inn with Acrobats and a Bagpipe Player. *Present location unknown*



239. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. U.S.A., William Middendorf collection



239. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. U.S.A.,
William Middendorf collection



240. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. The Centrepiece. Arnhem, Gemeentemuseum (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague).



241. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



242. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



243. J. van Amsterdam (?). Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie*



244. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of St. Jerome, Shutters. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



244. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of St. Jerome, Centrepiece. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



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245. J. van Amsterdam. Altarpiece of the Holy Trinity. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. 245 a. J. van Amsterdam, copy. The Holy Trinity. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



246. J. van Amsterdam. A Pair of Shutters: The Nativity, with Reverses, Sts. Lawrence and Catherine. Basle, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, and Present location unknown



247. J. van Amsterdam. A Pair of Shutters: Sts. Christopher and Catherine with Donors, with Reverses. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (on loan from the J.W. Frederiks collection)



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249. J. van Amsterdam. *Jacob Giving His Blessing*. *Present location unknown*. 250. J. van Amsterdam. *King Saul with the Witch of Endor*. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



251. J. van Amsterdam. David and Abigail. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



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254. J. van Amsterdam (partly A. Ysenbrant). Adoration of the Christ Child. *Present location unknown*



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255. J. van Amsterdam. Adoration of the Magi. *Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum.*
256. J. van Amsterdam. Adoration of the Magi. *Chicago, Ill., Art Institute of Chicago*



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258. J. van Amsterdam. *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum. 259. J. van Amsterdam (?). *Temptation of Christ*. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum. 262. J. van Amsterdam. *Agony in the Garden*. Present location unknown



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263. J. van Amsterdam. Christ on the Cross. Ghent, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 265. J. van Amsterdam. Crucifixion. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 266. J. van Amsterdam. Lamentation. Poznan, *Narodowe Museum*



264. J. van Amsterdam. Crucifixion. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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274. J. van Amsterdam. Christ Giving the Blessing. *Present location unknown.* 275. J. van Amsterdam. Virgin and St. John. *Chicago, Ill., Art Institute of Chicago.* 276. J. van Amsterdam. Virgin on the Crescent Moon. *Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts.* 278. J. van Amsterdam. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Present location unknown.* 279. J. van Amsterdam. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *U.S.A., Private collection*



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280. J. van Amsterdam. Temptation of St. Anthony. Esztergom, Keresztyenyi Muzeum. 281. J. van Amsterdam. Mass of Pope Gregory. Zurich, Private collection



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282. J. van Amsterdam. St. Jerome. *Basle, Tobias Christ collection*. 283. J. van Amsterdam. The Magdalene. *St. Louis, Mo., St Louis Art Museum*. 284. J. van Amsterdam. Salome. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan from the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague)*





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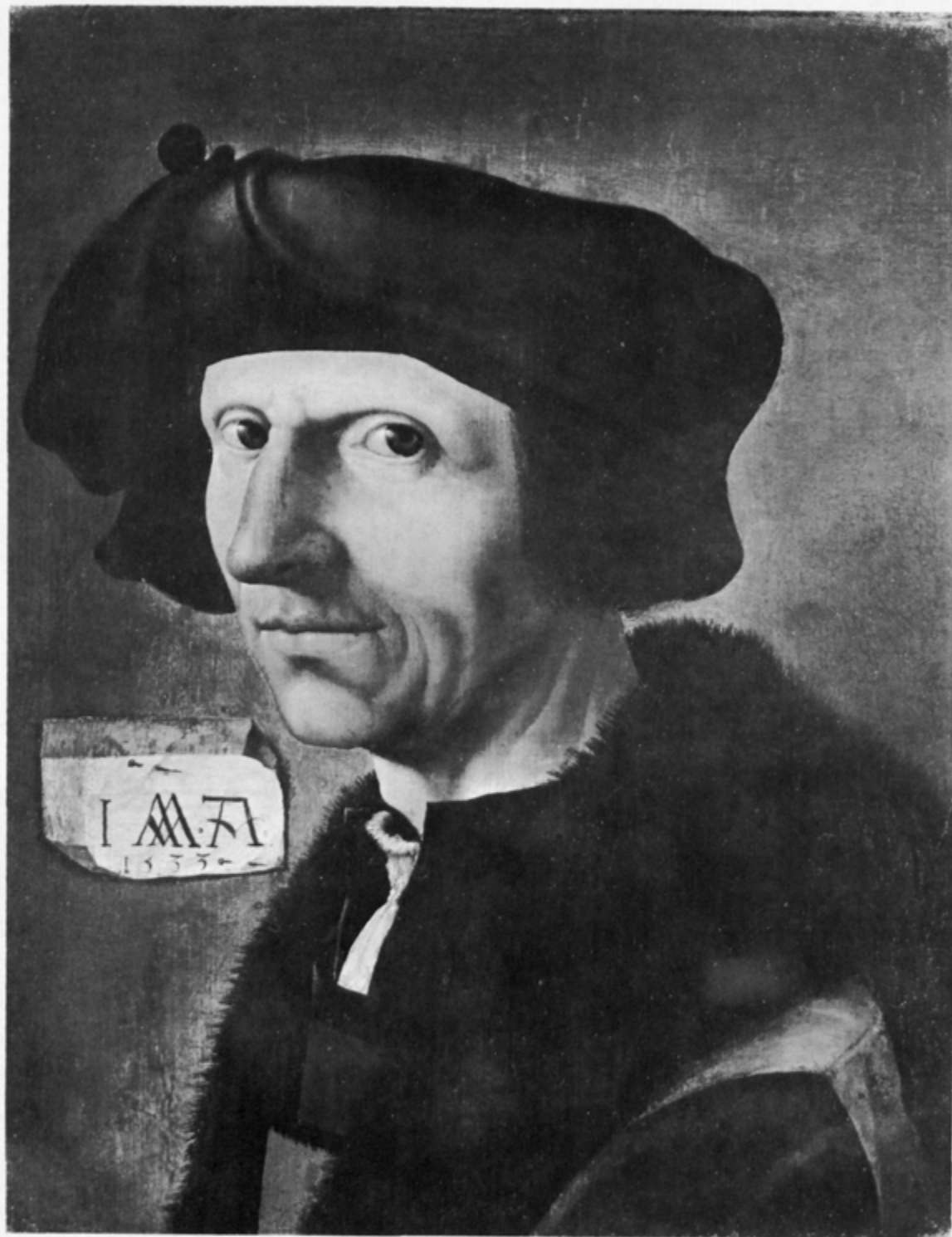
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286 A. J. van Amsterdam. Holy Bishop. *Amsterdam, Art market (P. & N. de Boer)*. 286. J. van Amsterdam. Two Orientals. *Herdringen, Collection of Count Fürstenberg*. 288. J. van Amsterdam (?). The Spectacle Seller. *Groningen, Groningen Museum*. 291. J. van Amsterdam. Portrait of Jacob Pijnssen. *Enschede, Rijksmuseum « Twenthe »*. 292. J. van Amsterdam. Portrait of Isabella of Denmark. *Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*



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293. J. van Amsterdam. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 294. J. van Amsterdam. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Netherlands, Art market*

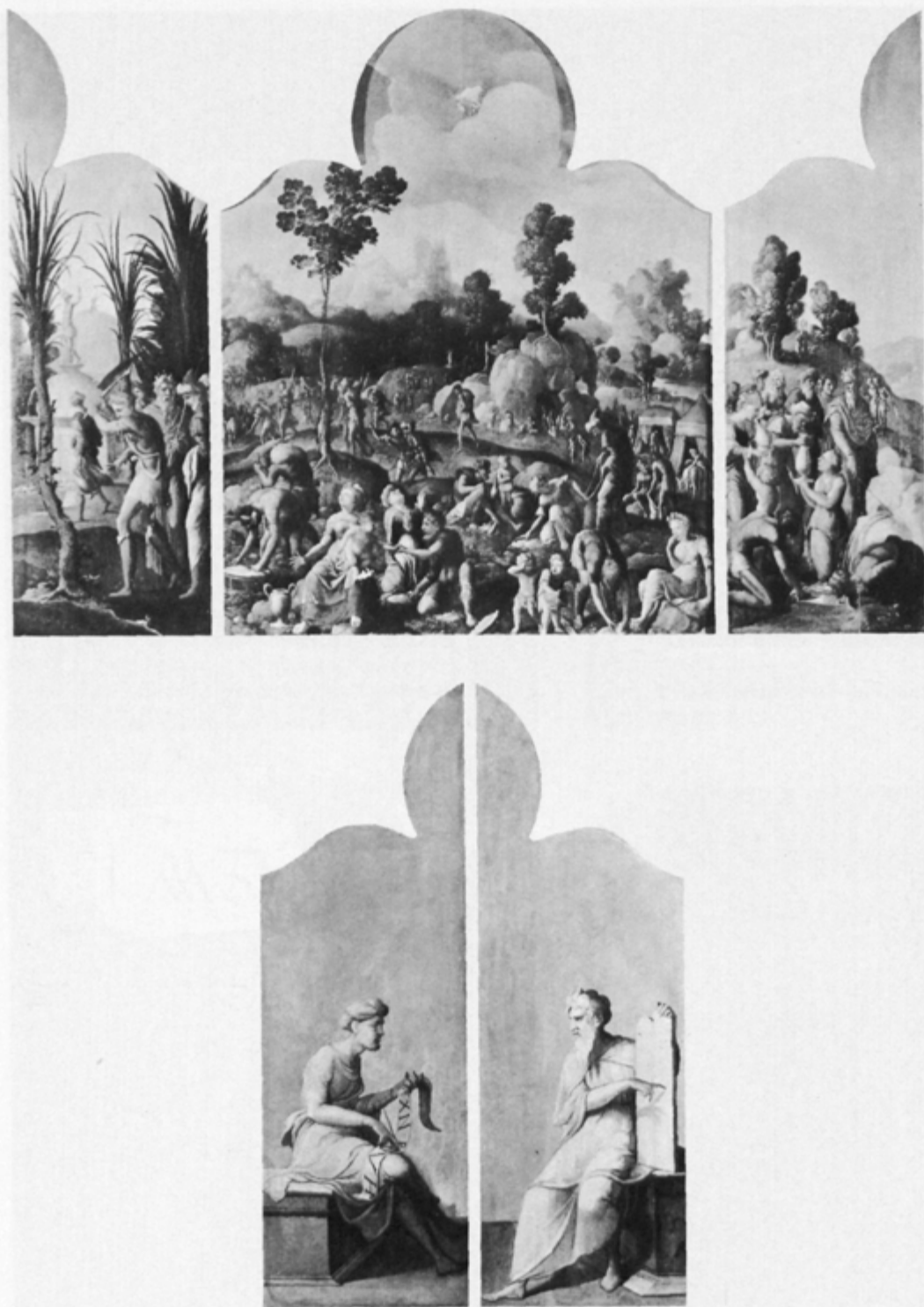


289. Self-Portrait. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

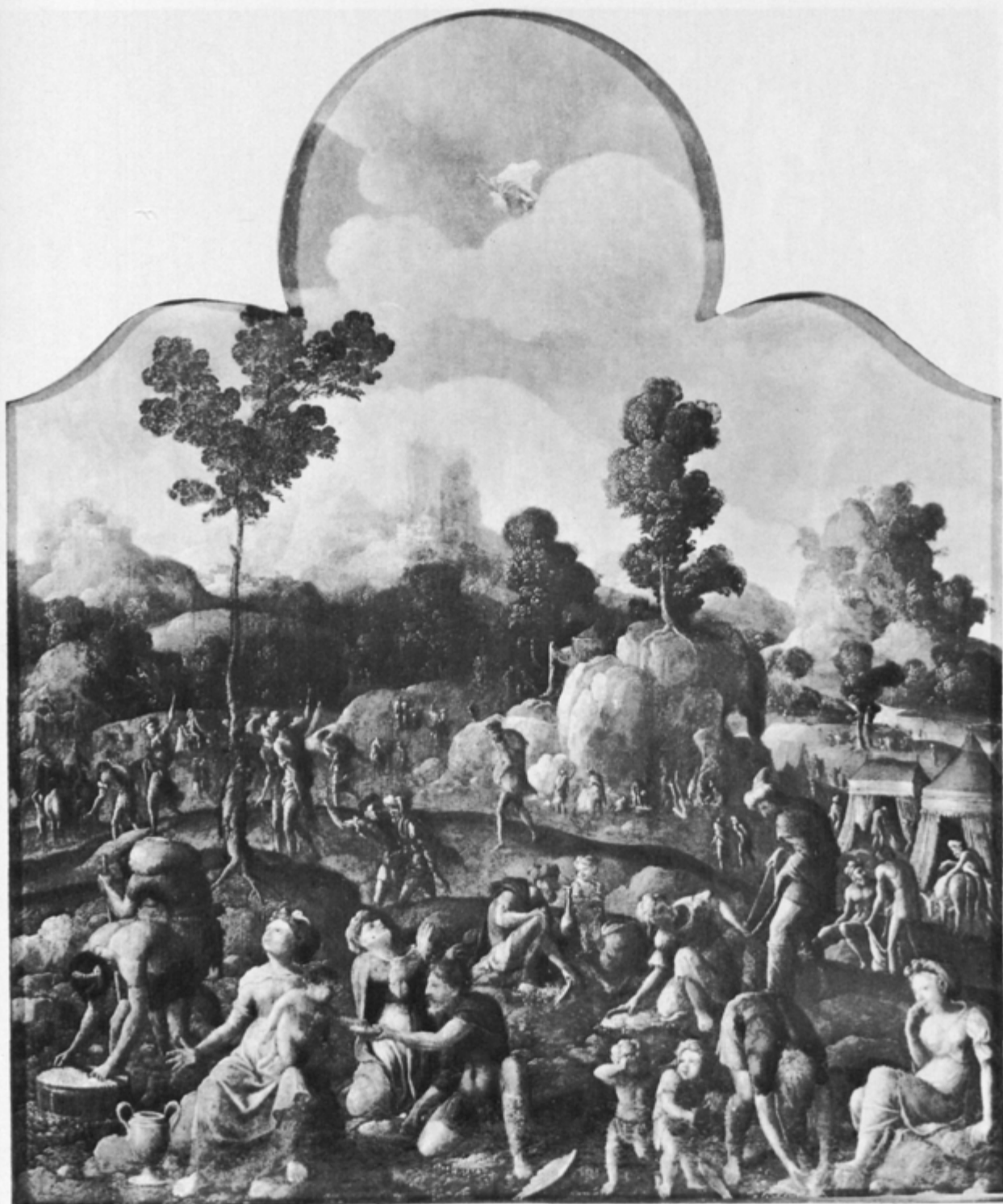


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289 a. J. van Amsterdam. Self-Portrait. Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art. 290. J. van Amsterdam. Portrait of a Couple. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



295. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Gathering of the Manna. *Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum*



295. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Gathering of the Manna, Centrepiece. *Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum*



296. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the van Lockhorst Family, Centrepiece. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum*





298. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Count of Frangipani, The Holy Kindred. Obervellach, Carinthia



298. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Count of Frangipani, Centrepiece. Obervellach, Carinthia



298. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Count of Frangipani, Shutters, Obervellach, Carinthia



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297. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *Present location unknown.* 299. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion (centrepiece). *Private collection. Wassenaar*



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300. J. van Scorel (?). Altarpiece of the Vischer van der Geer Family. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum.* 301. J. van Scorel. Altarpiece of Christ and the Magdalene. *Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery*





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303. J. van Scorel. A Pair of Shutters: Portraits of a Man and His Wife, with Reverses; Christ Carrying the Cross, Resurrection. *Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum*. 304. J. van Scorel. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. *Valenciennes, Musée (Lost after World War I)*



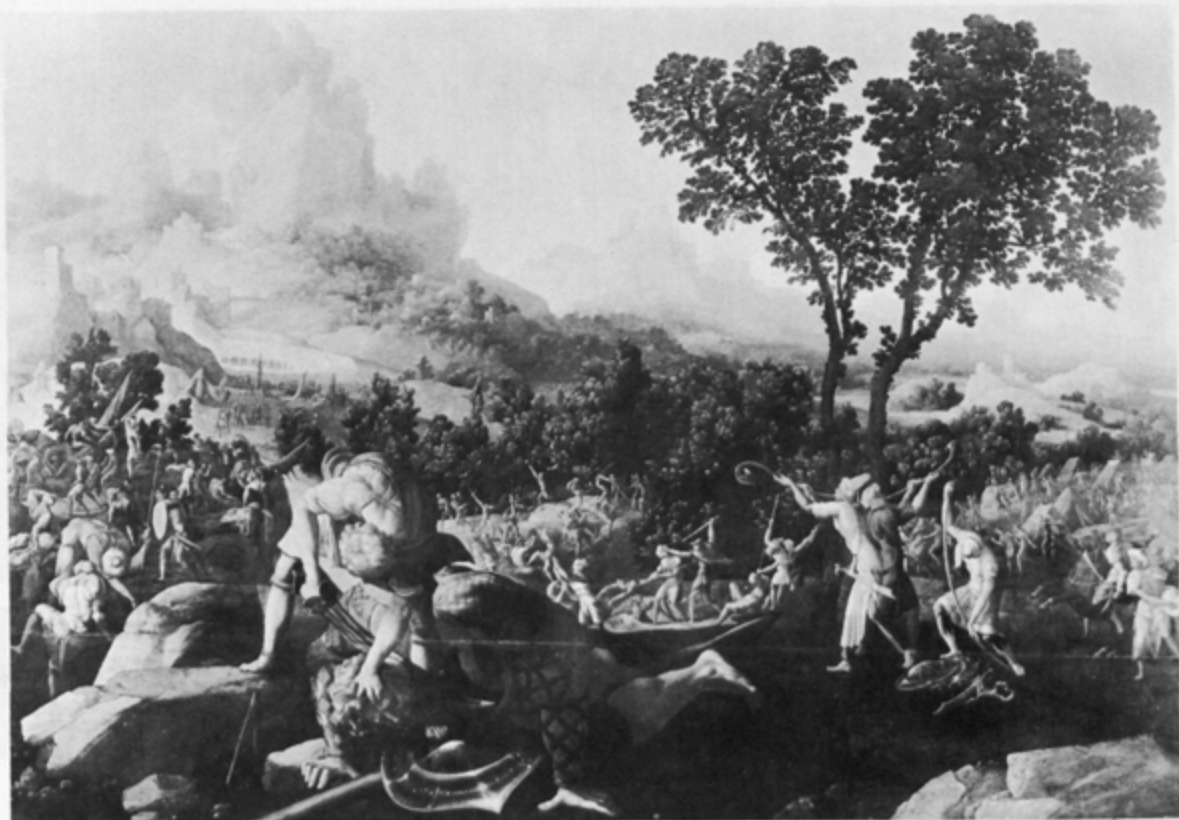
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305. J. van Scorel. Adam and Eve. *Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum « Ferdinandeum »*. 306. J. van Scorel (?). Adam and Eve. *Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum*. 309. J. van Scorel. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



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307. J. van Scorel. *Tower of Babel*. Venice, *Gallerie dell'Accademia*. 310. J. van Scorel. *Bathsheba Bathing*. Amsterdam, *Rijksmuseum*



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308. J. van Scorel. *David and Goliath*. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 311. J. van Scorel. *Tobie and the Angel*. *Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum* (on loan from a private collection)

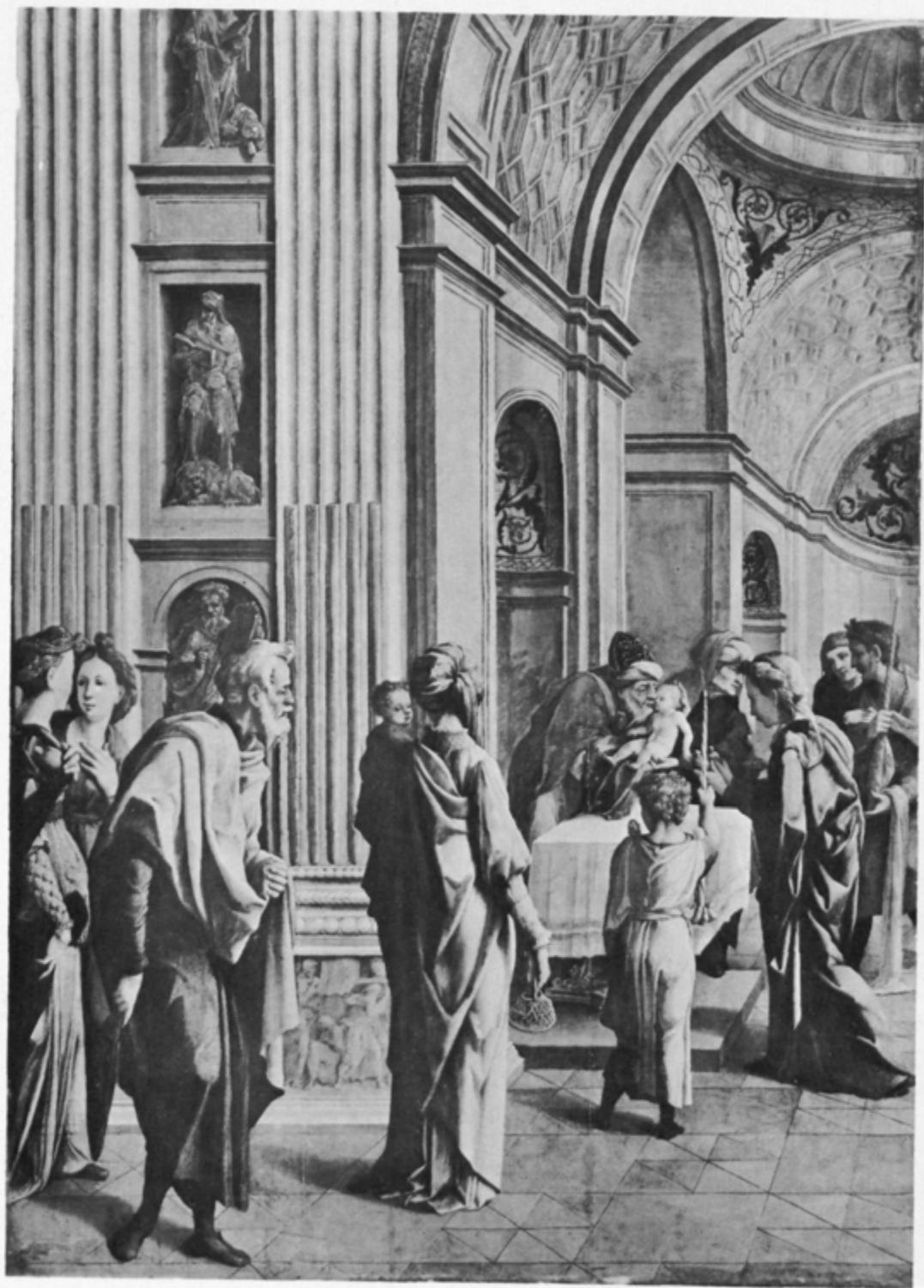


313. J. van Scorel. Adoration of the Magi. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



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312. J. van Scorel. Visitation. *Lwow, National Gallery.* 314. J. van Scorel. Adoration of the Magi. *Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum.* 315. J. van Scorel (?). Adoration of the Magi. *Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts*



316. J. van Scorel. *Presentation in the Temple*. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*



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317. J. van Scorci. Baptism of Christ. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. 319. J. van Scorel (?). Baptism of Christ. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum



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320. J. van Scorel (?). *The Good Samaritan*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 321. J. van Scorel (?). *The Crucifixion*. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum



322. J. van Scorel. Christ on the Cross. Detroit, Mich., Detroit Institute of Arts



324. J. van Scorel. Lamentation. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum



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323. J. van Scorel. Lamentation. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum.* 325. J. van Scorel. St. John the Baptist Preaching. *The Hague, Mrs. L. Thurkow-van Huffel collection*



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326. J. van Scorel. *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. U.S.A., *Private collection*. 327. J. van Scorel. *Virgin and Child*. Washington, D.C., *National Gallery of Art*



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329. J. van Scorel. Virgin and Child. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 329 b. J. van Scorel. Virgin and Child. Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation)



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330. J. van Scorel. *Virgin and Child*. Rotterdam, *Boymans-van Beuningen Collection*. 331. J. van Scorel. *Virgin and Child*. *Present location unknown*. 332. J. van Scorel. *Virgin and Child*. Kassel, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 337. J. van Scorel. *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Florence, *Palazzo Pitti*



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338. J. van Scorel. *The Magdalene*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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340. J. van Scorel. St. Paul. Haarlem, Episcopal Museum (on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague). 342. J. van Scorel. Cleopatra. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 343. J. van Scorel. Head of a Woman. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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344. J. van Scorel. Group Portrait. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 345. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Twelve Pilgrims to Jerusalem. Utrecht, Centraal Museum. 346. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Twelve Pilgrims to Jerusalem. Utrecht, Centraal Museum



347. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Nine Pilgrims to Jerusalem. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum.* 348. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Five Pilgrims to Jerusalem. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum.* 349. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Pilgrims to Jerusalem. *Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum*



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350 a. J. van Scorel. Portrait of Pope Hadrian. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum.* 352. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of Jan Carondelet. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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351. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of Cornelis Aertsz. van der Dussen. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 353. J. van Scorel. Portraits of Jan Diert and His Wife. Haarlem, Episcopal Museum. 354. J. van Scorel. Portrait of Herman van Lockhorst. Herdringen, Count of Fürstenberg collection



357. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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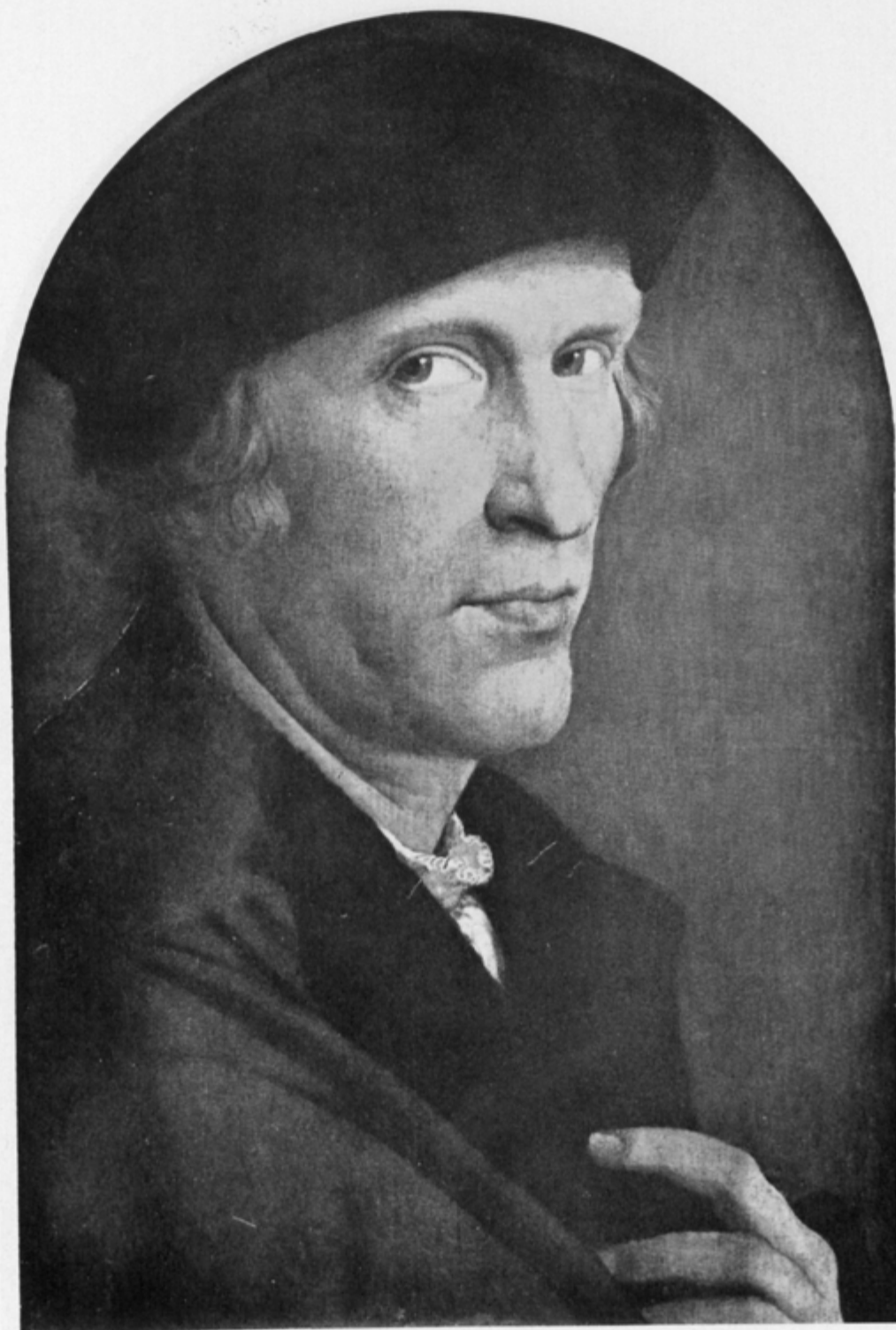
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358. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut.* 355. J. van Scorel. Portrait of Agatha van Schoonhoven. *Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili.* 356. J. van Scorel. Portrait of Bishop George van Egmond. *Utrecht, Centraal Museum (on loan from the Count Limburg-Stirum collection)*



360. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Pilgrim to Jerusalem. *Detroit, Mich., Detroit Institute of Arts*



359. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



361. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



362. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentelman. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



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363. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Canon. *Weimar, Kunstsammlungen*. 365. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Eindhoven (Netherlands), Erven Philips collection*. 366. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



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368. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. York, Yorkshire, City Art Gallery. 371. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. Oxford, Christ Church. 372. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. Oxford, Christ Church. 373. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Young Gentleman. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. 375. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Boy. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara



374. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Boy. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



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376. J. van Scorel. Portrait of an Elderly Lady and Portrait of a Gentleman. Rome, Galleria Corsini. 377. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Lady. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



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378 A. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of a Gentleman. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. 378. J. van Scorel. Portrait of a Gentleman. Paris, Musée National du Louvre. 379. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of a Gentleman. Oldenburg, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte. 380. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of a Lute Player. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



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383. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of a Family. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



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384. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of Pieter Bicker, Master of the Mint. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 385. J. van Scorel (?). Portrait of Anna Codde, Wife of Pieter Bicker. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 387 A. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Munich Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



388. J.C. Vermeyen. Altarpiece of the Raising of Lazarus. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



388. J.C. Vermeyen. Altarpiece of the Raising of Lazarus, Centrepiece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



388. J.C. Vermeyen. Altarpiece of the Raising of Lazarus, Shutters. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



389. J.C. Vermeyen. Portrait of Cardinal Carondelet. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



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400. J.C. Vermeyen. Portrait of a Gentleman. *London, National Gallery*



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Add. 418. P. Coeck. Altarpiece of the Descent of the Cross. Lisbon, *Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga*

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xi The Antwerp Mannerists—Adriaen Ysenbrant

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